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President's Address

JOHN W. WHITE
UNIVERSITY OF ARKANSAS

IN THE PAST it has been the usual custom for the president of the Association to deliver an address on some selected subject. Since this, except for meetings of the Executive Council and the Association business meeting, is the only general session of the convention, I decided, after consultation with some of my colleagues, to devote a little time to a discussion of the Association and some of its problems. This decision was further bolstered by the fact that we have secured for our principal speaker Professor Roland Vaile, who will discuss a subject very important to all of us.

It is appropriate to review, in this thirty-sixth year of the Association and its thirty-third meeting, the beginnings, objectives, and changes in this association of Southwestern social scientists. If you have not already done so, I should like to recommend that all members take time out to read the article entitled "History of the Southwestern Social Science Association," by Cortez A. M. Ewing, in Volume 31, Number 1, of the Association *Quarterly*. Professor Ewing does an excellent job of pointing out the development of the Association through its 1950 annual convention.

The Southwestern Social Science Association was organized under the guidance of the staff of the Department of Government of the University of Texas in the winter of the 1918-19 school year.¹ In the initial year, efforts were devoted largely to making known to teachers and public leaders in Texas, Oklahoma, Louisiana, Arkansas, and New Mexico the aims and purposes of the Association. Those interested in its development expressed the intention of engaging in the cultivation and promotion of political science through the encouragement of research, public meetings, and lectures.² The founders of the Association conceived of political science as comprising all fields of scholarship which relate to public life. Thus,

NOTE.—Presidential address delivered at the annual convention of the Southwestern Social Science Association, San Antonio, Texas, March 30, 1956.

¹ See *Southwestern Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (June, 1920), pp. 1-2, 52-55.

² See *Southwestern Social Science Quarterly*, Vol. 31, No. 1 (June, 1950), p. 39.

economics, history, sociology, and law were viewed as components necessary to the complete understanding of political science.

The first annual meetings featured only general sessions, at which specific political subjects were discussed from the various angles of economics, history, politics, and sociology. The founders of the Association hoped to bring into it public officials and social science teachers, especially those at the higher-education level, throughout the Southwest. The Southwest was delimited geographically as including Texas, Oklahoma, Arkansas, Louisiana, New Mexico, and Arizona. During the early history of the Association, the membership was recruited almost wholly from Texas, Oklahoma, and Arkansas. Later, members were recruited in Louisiana, and since the first decade, increasing membership has come from New Mexico, Kansas, Missouri, and Mississippi.³

The original name—the Southwestern Political Science Association—was changed at the fourth annual meeting to the Southwestern Political and Social Science Association. At the twelfth annual meeting, 1931, the name of the organization was changed to the Southwestern Social Science Association.⁴ Apparently this name is satisfactory to everyone since, in so far as is generally known, there has been no agitation for a change.

Since the beginning of the Association, even though it was founded with the concept that political science covers all areas related to public life, there has been a definite trend toward sections, with specialized programs developed to meet the needs of various subject-matter groups generally classified in the broad area of social science. Economics, history, and sociology were prominent in the early years. By 1928, six disciplines were holding meetings. As many as eleven social science disciplines have presented programs at the annual meetings. In this connection, you will observe that there are nine distinct sections at this annual meeting.

I should now like to make a few comments regarding the Association *Quarterly*. From the beginning, the *Quarterly* has served a very important function and has provided for the publication of articles relating to the various sections making up the Association. It is not a professional journal for any specific discipline. In the early days, the editor was assisted by an editorial board representing various institutions. Later, the editor-in-chief was assisted by a staff of associates selected by the sections represented in the Association. This plan of organization is maintained at present.

This brief review of the development of the Association indicates that it has progressed from the ideas and efforts of a small group to an association involving a comparatively large number of states and academic disciplines.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, 41.

The membership, in excess of six hundred, indicates that the leadership of the social sciences in the area covered takes a very definite interest in the affairs of the Association. The *Quarterly* has performed a definite function and serves as a vehicle for the literary activities of the membership. I should like to recommend a thorough use of the *Quarterly* to all persons who are interested in following more closely the affairs of the Association. Although the Southwestern Social Science Association does not perform all the functions of a professional society such as the American Economics Association, it has been of very material value in the development of leadership in the various social science disciplines in the Southwest. It has been particularly beneficial to the young members of the profession who have found an outlet for professional interest in the comparatively small sectional-group meetings. This opportunity has permitted many people to grow and to take an active interest in more specialized professional-group meetings.

Professor Ewing commented in his article that the Association represents a unique experiment of bringing the social sciences together on a regional basis. I agree wholeheartedly with his comment and I firmly believe that the Association has contributed heavily to the development and success of the social sciences in this region.

Even though the progress of the Association has been excellent, all of us are still faced with a very important problem—that of maintaining interest and a degree of participation. In order to overcome this problem, all persons interested in the Association must continue active participation, encourage participation on the part of others, and stimulate an exchange of ideas regarding the organization.

With the above thoughts in mind, I should like to take a few minutes to point out the need of support and encouragement to the men in the Association who annually and over a period of years carry out its important functions. I should first like to recommend every consideration on your part to the editor of the *Quarterly* and the secretary-treasurer. The burdens of the Association fall to a greater extent on these two people than on any others. They are the corps leaders who carry on. The editor keeps the Association going through publications and the secretary-treasurer handles the financial affairs and keeps the membership live and up to date. Without membership and an expression of membership through the *Quarterly*, the Association would surely fall by the wayside. Another person who may not be fully recognized and who carries out a most important function is the general-program chairman. He is responsible for the general organization and development of the annual program. He must keep all of the sections on their toes and arrange the annual convention.

The various section chairmen make up the heart of the Association, and

the success of each annual meeting hinges upon their initiative and drive in developing good sectional programs. Without such programs, interest in the annual convention would drop to a low point.

The various committees are of paramount importance to the smooth functioning not only of the annual meeting but of the Association throughout the entire year. Their duties are important and necessary. I believe that a very fundamental step was taken by the Association at its last meeting when it definitely determined that the first vice-president would automatically become president. This action permits the first vice-president to organize the incoming year's work at the current annual meeting. The selection of committees and key persons should be facilitated by this provision.

As concluding remarks, I should like to state that, in spite of the far-flung space and wide range in academic disciplines covered by the Association, the interest and response to its problems have, during the past year, been excellent. As President, I should like to express my appreciation to everyone who has participated in making this a good year.

Regimentation of Youth in Satellite Poland

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THE ONLY GROUPS in Communist Poland as of early 1956 which could be characterized as even quasi-political are the youth organizations. The voluntary ones embrace boys and girls from the ages of five to twenty-five, beginning with the Braves (five to eight), the Union of Polish Pioneers (nine to fourteen), and the Polish Youth Union (fifteen to twenty-five). The last-named group has units in the armed forces and in the universities. It is openly admitted that all of these organizations are auxiliaries of the Polish Communist Party, which they assist in political and other types of work.

Since these youth movements are not compulsory, even though they are directed by the Communists,¹ a great majority of the youth has remained outside of them. In order to embrace the whole younger generation and have some control over it, the regime forces all Polish youth between sixteen and twenty-one years of age to become members for specified periods of a universal organization called Service to Poland, which performs compulsory labor and provides political indoctrination as well as para-military training.

Official statistics provide data for breaking down a Polish population² of 27,020,000 (estimated as of January, 1955) into the age groups as shown in Table 1. Thus almost ten and one-quarter million persons—about 38 per cent of the total population—are today targets of Communist youth policies in satellite Poland.

The Union of Polish Youth

Existing in its present form only since 1948, the Union of Polish Youth (*Związek Młodzieży Polskiej*—ZMP) is, according to its statute, a "mass,

¹ "The Party is faced with the task of not only caring for and politically helping the Polish Youth Union but also has to direct the entirety of youth affairs."—J. Kaplinski, "Wiecej uwagi młodzieży" (More Attention to Youth), *Nowe Drogi* (New Paths), Warsaw, Vol. III (March, 1951), pp. 77-78.

² For a detailed study of Polish demographic problems, see Stanislaw Skrzypek, "Demograficzna struktura kraju" (Demographic Structure of the Country), *Zagadnienia Polskie* (Polish Problems), New York, Vol. III (October, 1955), published by the Free Europe Committee, Inc.

non-Party, independent, ideological-educational organization for young workers and students in both rural and urban areas."³ Though nominally nonpartisan, it is affiliated with the Communist-sponsored World Federation of Democratic Youth. The Polish organization claimed slightly over two million members in February, 1955, but the size of its membership in the armed forces is unknown.

The ideology of the Polish Youth Union, membership in which provides the only opportunity for obtaining Communist party membership under the

TABLE 1

Classification of Youth by Age Groups

Age Group	Number	Percentage of Total Population
5-9	2,296,700	8.5
10-14	2,593,920	9.6
15-19	2,729,020	10.1
20-24	2,620,940	9.7
Total	10,240,580	37.9

Source: Poland, *Rocznik Statystyczny 1949* (Statistical Yearbook for 1949) (Warsaw, Główny Urząd Statystyczny, 1950), p. 20; and as projected on the basis of the January 1, 1955, estimate for the population of Poland in U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *International Population Reports*, Series P-91, No. 2, May 11, 1955, p. 5.

age of twenty, is one of struggle for the "great plan" to rebuild the country and to establish the "people's democratic system" on a permanent basis. The organization is charged with moulding the world outlook of youth "on the basis of scientific knowledge of human life and the laws that govern it,"⁴ meaning, of course, Marxism. Supported by the new social structure, a new, "aggressive" attitude toward work is being fostered by this youth group. A concrete expression of the foregoing attitude is the mass participation (forced) of its members in labor competition.

The Union of Polish Youth represents an amalgamation of several previously existing youth organizations. Up until 1948 the youth movements in Poland were controlled individually by the principal political parties, as a result of which each youth group was able to develop a high degree of political consciousness. Four main youth movements participated in the unification process: Communist, Socialist, Agrarian, and National-Democratic.

³ "Statut Związku Młodzieży Polskiej" (Statute of the Polish Youth Union), *Uczymy Sie* (We Study), Warsaw, Vol. II (September, 1948), p. 66; henceforth cited as *Statut ZMP*.

⁴ Poland, Prezydium Rady Ministrów, *Rocznik polityczny i gospodarczy 1948* (Political and Economic Yearbook for 1948) (Warsaw, Spółdzielnia Wydawniczo-Oświatowa "Czytelnik," 1949), p. 458. It is interesting to note that no other statistical almanacs of this type have been issued since 1949.

The Union of Youth for Struggle (*Związek Walki Młodych*—ZWM) was organized on the ideological basis of the Polish Workers' (Communist) party. In 1946 its strength was reportedly about 200,000 members.⁵ This Communist youth movement attempted to dominate the other youth organizations, beginning this process as early as the end of the Second World War. Where it encountered difficulty, its tactics were to penetrate the rival group with men acting under Communist orders.

The Youth Organization of the Society of Workers' Universities (*Organizacja Młodzieży Towarzystwa Uniwersytetów Robotniczych*—OMTUR) was originally attached to the prewar Polish Socialist party and in 1947 claimed about 120,000 members.⁶ When the Communists made the Socialists one of their puppets in Poland after the Second World War, Socialists' youth organization was also penetrated and captured by Communist agents. All opposition to the regime was purged, and the central committee of this so-called "Socialist" group resolved to leave the non-Communist International Union of Socialist Youth in March, 1948, alleging that the latter served the "enemy" powers of imperialism and capitalism and did not serve the interests of socialism.

The Union of Peasant Youth of the Polish Republic (*Związek Młodzieży Wiejskiej Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej*—ZMWRP) had a reported membership of about 500,000 in 1947,⁷ but the organization was split in its allegiance between the Communist puppet Peasant party and the genuine Polish Peasant party led by Stanisław Mikołajczyk.⁸ After this man fled from Poland in October, 1947, the Communists obtained complete control of his youth group within a few months' time. The main board of the Peasant Youth Union was soon packed with Communists in place of the pro-Mikołajczyk forces.

The smallest among the four principal youth movements was the Union of Democratic Youth (*Związek Młodzieży Demokratycznej*—ZMD), with a membership of approximately 20,000 in 1946. It represented the intellectual and middle-class youth dwelling in the cities and guided by the ideological influence of the National Democratic party.

Early in 1948, the Communist president of Poland, Bolesław Bierut, issued a call for the unification of all Polish youth into one organization for

⁵ World Federation of Democratic Youth, *Information Bulletin*, Paris, Vol. IV (April, 1946).

⁶ Polska Partia Robotnicza, *Kalendarz Robotniczy na 1948 rok* (Workers' Almanac for the Year 1948) (Warsaw, Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza "Książka," 1947), p. 327; henceforth cited as *Kalendarz Robotniczy*. This publication is one in a series which has been released annually since 1946.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 330.

⁸ For a discussion of the attempt at "coexistence" by the Polish Peasant party, see S. Mikołajczyk, *The Pattern of Soviet Domination* (London, Samson Low, Marston and Co., 1948).

secondary schools as well as for those of academic levels. The aim obviously was to gain control of the youth more easily by having it in one common group. Unification would also automatically undermine and weaken all other political groups, for, having no access to future members from among the youth, they obviously could not use this age-group as supporters. The principal significance of the proposed unification was perhaps that it foreshadowed the eventual emergence of a single-party state.

In April, 1948, the central boards of the four main youth organizations met to discuss a common political and ideological platform as well as organic fusion. A unified central committee was elected. Between July 19-23, 1948, the Polish "Youth Congress for Unity" met at Wroclaw (formerly known as Breslau) in Silesia, where an ideological program and a statute for the

TABLE 2

ZMP Social Composition

Category	Number	Percentage of Total Membership
Factory workers	128,300	23.2
Peasants	141,450	25.5
Office workers	30,000	5.4
Artisans	22,300	4.1
Other professions	10,500	1.9
Students (secondary schools)	221,000	39.9
Total	553,550	100.0

merged Union of Polish Youth were adopted.⁹ Provisions were also made for a separate and semiautonomous Union of Polish Academic Youth for university students and for a separate organization for members in the armed forces.¹⁰

Membership and Tasks

Between the inception of the Polish Youth Union (ZMP) in the middle of 1948 to early 1955, its membership increased almost fivefold, as is shown in Table 3. This still represented only 37 per cent of all youth between the ages of fifteen and twenty-five who were eligible for membership in the organization, according to an official Communist source.¹¹ The social compo-

⁹ For coverage of this congress, see *Głos Ludu* (People's Voice), Warsaw, July 20-24, 1948, inclusive.

¹⁰ The Union of Polish Youth was officially introduced into the army through a military decree signed by the National Defense minister and published in *Polska Zbrojna* (Armed Poland), Warsaw, October 17, 1948.

¹¹ See the speech delivered by Polish Youth Union Chairman Helena Jaworska at the

sition of the ZMP¹² (excluding the affiliated organizations) in February, 1949, shown in Table 2, was not considered at all satisfactory. Politburo member Roman Zambrowski deplored the low percentage of working-class youth in the ZMP. He gave as an example the 14,500 young factory workers

TABLE 3

Growth of the Polish Youth Union, 1948-55

Date	Membership
July, 1948	413,000 ^a
February, 1949	553,000 ^b
April, 1949	780,000 ^c
December, 1949	1,000,000 ^d
March, 1950	1,125,000 ^e
July, 1950 ^f	1,141,000 ^d
December, 1950	1,250,000 ^g
December, 1951	1,300,000 ^h
October, 1953	1,450,000 ⁱ
March, 1954	1,700,000 ^j
February, 1955	2,018,000 ^j

a. R. Zambrowski, *op. cit.*, p. 51. A figure of 700,000 members for the same date is given by *Kalendarz Robotniczy* 1949, p. 300.

b. This includes ZMP members in the army and Service to Poland. Some 108,000 were village youths in 9,835 rural circles.—Zambrowski, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

c. P. Glushakov (ed.), *Pyat let narodnoi Polshi* (Five Years of People's Poland) (Moscow, Izdatelstvo Inostrannoi Literatury, 1951), p. 232.

d. *Kalendarz Robotniczy* 1950, p. 182.

e. Excluding members in armed forces and academic youth. About 295,750 persons belonged to 19,800 rural circles.—B. Bierut, "Zadania partii w walce o nowe kadry na tle sytuacji ogolnej" (Party Tasks in Struggle for New Cadres on Background of General Situation), *Nowe Drogi*, Vol. II (March-April, 1950), p. 32.

f. The total number of ZMP circles was 42,700 at this time.—*Kalendarz Robotniczy* 1951, p. 308.

g. Rural circles had dropped to 16,000 by this date.—Polish (Communist) Information Service, *Poland Today*, New York, Vol. II (February, 1951), p. 13.

h. *Trybuna Wolnosci* (Freedom Tribune), Warsaw, December 26, 1951.

i. *Trybuna Ludu*, March 12, 1954.

j. *Ibid.*, February 2, 1955.

participating in labor competition at the industrial center of Lodz, where the total ZMP membership was only 6,250, and stated that 90 per cent of the workers (i.e., a total of 13,050) should belong to the youth organization. Zambrowski voiced the same dissatisfaction with regard to the percentage of peasant youth in the ZMP. Instead of the then-existing ratio of 25 per cent, he demanded that one-half or even more of the total ZMP membership come from the rural areas.¹³

second congress of this organization.—*Trybuna Ludu* (People's Tribune), Warsaw, February 2, 1955.

¹² R. Zambrowski, "O pracy Związku Młodzieży Polskiej" (On the Work of ZMP), *Nowe Drogi*, Vol. I (January-February 1949), p. 53.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 53-54. Despite this demand, at the recently held ZMP congress (January 28-February 1, 1955) it was revealed that the peasant ratio had not increased during the past six years. Of the approximately 3,150,000 youths in rural areas who are eligible for ZMP membership, only about 450,000, or 14.5 per cent, belong to the organization.—*Trybuna*

By October, 1950, the number of young factory workers in the ZMP had risen to 27.8 per cent of that organization's membership. This was still considered far from sufficient, as indicated by the person in charge of the ZMP's organizational section.¹⁴ He admitted that only 32 per cent of all working-class youth in Poland was at that time enrolled in the Polish Youth Union. Citing the example of 4,870 young workers employed by the Stalin factory at Lodz, he stated that only 746 of these belonged to the ZMP.

The social composition of even the ZMP administrative boards is not what the Communist party would like it to be, according to its own admission. Politburo member Franciszek Mazur disclosed that on a nationwide basis factory workers in the latter part of 1950 comprised 31.9 per cent and peasants only 19 per cent of membership on county and city ZMP boards. In Warsaw province, for example, he stated that workers constituted only 15.8 per cent of the membership of all county boards.¹⁵

Being the only official youth organization, the ZMP has a monopoly in this respect among Polish boys and girls. Youngsters are accepted as members between the ages of fifteen and twenty-five. Among the organization's tasks, as written into its statute,¹⁶ are the following: setting up competitive "races" for completing work projects in cities and villages, control over professional promotions and admissions to secondary schools and universities, and participation in the activities of Service to Poland (the universal labor organization discussed below). Further duties are to conduct courses, issue publications, organize lectures and discussion groups, combat illiteracy, conduct amateur theaters and singing groups, and perform other artistic work. The ZMP also promotes physical education and sport activities, tourism, and mass vacations. It establishes rest homes and points for health counseling. Its members actively participate in the work of trade-unions, the Peasant Self-Help Union (a purchasing and marketing co-operative), and other social, cultural-educational, economic and co-operative groups.¹⁷

Ludu, February 2, 1955. These 450,000 are only 22.3 per cent of the total ZMP membership as of February, 1955, an even smaller percentage than at the time Zambrowski spoke.

¹⁴ T. Wieczorek, "Do walki o wzmocnienie ZMP" (Fight to Strengthen the ZMP), *Nasze Kolo Pracuje* (Our Circle Works), Warsaw, Vol. X (October, 1950), p. 3. No information on the percentage of factory workers in the ZMP has been divulged since 1950, even at the 1955 youth congress, so it presumably has not increased substantially over the past five years.

¹⁵ F. Mazur, "O pracy partii wsrod mlodziezy" (Party Work with the Youth), *Zycie Partii* (Party Life), Warsaw, Vol. IX (September, 1950), p. 9.

¹⁶ *Statut ZMP*, pp. 67-68.

¹⁷ This information on duties was obtained through the courtesy of Dr. Marian E. Rojek, chief of the Polish Desk, Free Europe Press, Division of Free Europe Committee, Inc., and from refugee Poles who had been screened by Radio Free Europe personnel in Munich after their escape to the West.

Activities and Authority

ZMP expends the most energy in attempting to bring up a new generation of loyal subjects. For this reason, activities center in the schools. ZMP boards in schools consist of four paid officials. The chairman of the ZMP board conducts the organization, presides at meetings, and distributes material for various types of group study. The deputy chairman has such functions as are delegated to him by the chairman. The secretary records minutes of meetings and maintains for safekeeping all directives issued at higher levels. The treasurer collects the dues—"uniformly obligatory upon all members, regardless of work engaged in"¹⁸—which amount to thirty grozy (about eight cents at the official exchange rate) per month.

The Polish Youth Union wields considerable power in the schools. Resolutions of its general meeting cannot be violated by the school administration or by teachers. The ZMP also has the authority to inform an instructor or even the principal of a school that his behavior in relation to the students is incorrect. If after such a warning the teacher does not change his attitude, the matter is referred to the Polish United Workers' (Communist) party. Recalcitrant teachers are removed from their positions.¹⁹

The future of each student is in the hands of the ZMP. If he enjoys the esteem of this organization, he receives priority for a higher education or better employment. The ZMP statute openly acknowledges that the organization "facilitates professional advancement as well as admission to secondary schools and universities for worker and peasant youth."²⁰ Innumerable assemblies of the entire student body are organized at all schools. These are addressed by ZMP activists, who receive special political training for their assignments. The lectures are followed by compulsory discussions.

The Polish United Workers' (Communist) party assumes final responsibility for the work of the ZMP, as was disclosed five years ago by Mazur in a speech to secretaries and chairmen of province party committees and ZMP boards respectively.²¹ The organizational sections of party province and county committees maintain continuous contact with their counterparts on ZMP boards. Instructors from the party committees are directed to aid the

¹⁸ Ostatnie instrukcje ZG ZMP, "Nowy system placenia składek członkowskich w ZMP" (Latest Instructions of Main Board on Paying Dues in ZMP), *Nasze Koło Pracy*, Vol. VII (July, 1951), p. 74.

¹⁹ *Sztandar Młodych* (Youth Banner), Warsaw, March 21, 1950, relates the story of a secondary-school principal who was removed by the ZMP. Another source tells of two "reactionary" teachers who were discharged through ZMP intervention.—I. Turek, "Zaczelismy walczyć z wrogiem klasowym" (We Combat the Class Enemy), *Nasze Koło Pracy*, Vol. I (January, 1951), pp. 54–58. These episodes recall the authority enjoyed by the *Komsomol* in the early days of the Russian Revolution.

²⁰ *Statut ZMP*, p. 67.

²¹ Mazur, *op. cit.*, pp. 5–6.

youth movement in its work. The ZMP has been officially recognized as an auxiliary of the Polish United Workers' party.²²

The party organizations supply the Polish Youth Union with experienced Communist activists as cadres. This organizational link is very important. The relationship is, to a certain extent, reciprocal, since the ZMP participates in all of the work of the party. According to Mazur, cited above, there is really no party problem which would not be of interest to the ZMP. All meetings of province and county party committees have been attended by ZMP delegates since 1951.

The Communists have taken special steps to control the youth organization's membership in universities. The party directed and influenced the student sector, according to an Organizational Bureau (Orgburo) resolution, by means of the "... mass, non-Party, political, ideological and educational organization—the Union of Polish Academic Youth. . . . The Party points out the political line for the work of the Polish Academic Youth Union and executes this line through Party members who occupy positions in the directing bodies."²³ This same resolution also established a Central Party Youth Group (*Centralny Partyjny Zespół Młodzieżowy*—CPZM), which was given the rights of a central committee section for the purpose of supervising student activities. The group formed a special unit, consisting of party members and representatives of the Polish Academic Youth Union's central board, and maintained constant liaison with the Central Committee's section for enlightenment.²⁴

This situation lasted until 1950. Up to that time, the Polish Academic Youth Union had been autonomous and had conducted its activities on the basis of its own statute, approved by the Union of Polish Youth (ZMP) supreme council.²⁵ The Polish Academic Youth Union (*Związek Akademickiej Młodzieży Polskiej*—ZAMP) was organized in July, 1948, just two days before the main congress met to fuse the other youth groups into the

²² "List ZG do wszystkich członków ZMP" (Letter from Main Board to All ZMP Members), *Nasze Kolo Pracuje*, Vol. VII (July, 1951), p. 8. The new statute of the Polish United Workers' (Communist) party, approved at the March, 1954, congress, refers to the ZMP in Article 58 as follows: "The Polish United Workers' Party directs the activities of ZMP. The ZMP is a mass, political-educational organization for urban and rural youth; it is an active assistant of the Party in the construction of Socialism. Party policy comprises a directive for the ZMP organization in all fields of its activity."—"Statut PZPR zatwierdzony przez II Zjazd Partii" (Statute of the Polish United Workers' Party, Approved by the Second Party Congress), *Trybuna Ludu*, March 19, 1954.

²³ Uchwała Biura Organizacyjnego KC PZPR, "W sprawie pracy ZAMP'u i aktualnych zagadnień odcinka studenckiego" (resolution by the Orgburo of the Central Committee, Polish United Workers' Party on Work by the Polish Academic Youth Union and Current Problems in the Student Sector), *Zycie Partii*, Vol. V (July, 1949), pp. 59–60.

²⁴ For a discussion of this and other party sections, see R. F. Staar, "The Secretariat of the PZPR," *Journal of Central European Affairs* (October, 1955).

²⁵ *Statut ZMP*, p. 68.

ZMP, at the "Congress for Democratic Unity of Polish Students" in Wrocław. Four university-student organizations were united at this time: the Academic Union of (Communist) Youth for Struggle—"Life"; the Union of Independent Socialist Youth—"Left-Wing"; the Union of Peasant Youth—"Call to Arms"; and the Union of Democratic Youth—"Club for Youth in the Democratic Party."²⁶

The Union of Polish Academic Youth (ZAMP) claimed 26,000 members organized into 659 circles one year after its inception. Thus, it incorporated only 23 per cent of the total student body in Poland at the time.²⁷ In August, 1950, the Union of Polish Youth, by means of a supreme-council resolution, directed its main board to integrate ZAMP with ZMP by the end of that year. Two months later, the ZAMP central board obligingly announced that organization's absorption by the Union of Polish Youth.²⁸ Organizational activities are also undertaken by the Polish Youth Union among officers, non-commissioned officers, and enlisted men of the armed forces, according to special instructions approved by the National Defense Ministry and the ZMP supreme council.²⁹

Pioneers and Braves

Prior to the Second World War the scouting movement in Poland was organized upon a religious and nationalistic basis. Connected with the world Boy Scout organization, originally established by Lord Baden-Powell, it had been active even before 1914, when Poland remained partitioned and under foreign occupation. In the Second World War, Polish scouts went underground and were known for their bravery both in covert operations and in the 1944 Warsaw insurrection against the Germans. After Poland had been "liberated," the scouting movement was officially reactivated and assumed the name Union of Polish Pioneers (*Związek Harcerstwa Polskiego*—ZHP) at the end of 1944. The organization was slowly penetrated by the Communists thereafter and was completely dominated by 1948. At this time, Jerzy Berek (member of the ZMP central board) became chief of the Polish Pioneer Union.

Typical of the change in this reborn youth movement is its new oath, introduced in June, 1950, which states in part that "a Pioneer serves people's Poland"³⁰ in contrast to the prewar oath that "a Scout serves God and Poland." During the same year which saw the introduction of the new oath,

²⁶ *Kalendarz Robotniczy* 1949, p. 302.

²⁷ Uchwała Biura Organizacyjnego KC PZPR, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

²⁸ *Sztandar Młodych*, October 27, 1950.

²⁹ *Statut ZMP*, p. 68.

³⁰ *Kalendarz Robotniczy* 1951, p. 314. The draft of a new oath appeared in *Sztandar Młodych*, September 9, 1955, only to be criticized as having insufficient Communist content. —*Trybuna Ludu*, November 13, 1955.

the Pioneers were already called the "substructure of the Polish Youth Union."³¹ It is also standard practice for ZMP to delegate its members to serve as Pioneer troop leaders.³²

The transformation of the Pioneers into a strictly Communist youth organization was described by Zygmunt Feliksiak, at that time chairman of the Warsaw-city ZMP board, in the following manner:

The path was difficult in proceeding from a reactionary . . . imperialist ideology . . . to . . . an organization which rears children in the spirit of peace and Socialism. The tempo was intensified after the ZMP was directed to lead the Pioneers. We were able to remove about 80 per cent of the old, reactionary instructor cadres. . . . Thanks to the elimination of the reactionary imperialist theory of "Baden-Powellism," the Pioneers have made substantial gains. . . .³³

The main field of activities for the Polish Pioneers' Union is the primary school. Any boy or girl between the ages of nine and fourteen is eligible to become a member. From 1946 to 1951 the number of organized Pioneers increased more than fourfold³⁴ (see Table 4). The last figure in Table 4

TABLE 4

Growth of the Union of Polish Pioneers

<i>Year</i>	<i>Number</i>
1946	250,000
1947	300,000
1949	700,000
1951	1,100,000

represents almost 36.5 per cent of all children between nine and fourteen,³⁵ who were eligible in 1951 for membership in the Polish Pioneers' Union. No later data are available to the author, but presumably the membership has increased.

The Pioneers have separate organizational units for boys and for girls. These parallel one another in the nineteen districts (coinciding with the boundaries of the country's administrative provinces). The districts are in turn subdivided into banners, brigades, troops, and patrols. Four successively higher ranks exist in the Pioneer movement: Volunteer, Explorer, Chief, and Organizer.

³¹ *Kalendarz Robotniczy* 1950, p. 184. The Polish Pioneers admittedly pattern themselves after their Soviet counterpart, according to *Sztandar Młodych*, May 5, 1952.

³² M. Marzec, "Co wynika dla organizacji z VII plenum" (Organizational Directives of the Seventh Plenum), *Nasze Kolo Pracy*, Vol. IV (April, 1951), p. 5.

³³ *Sztandar Młodych*, October 21, 1950.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, April 16, 1951, and *Trybuna Ludu*, April 29, 1951.

³⁵ *Rocznik Statystyczny* 1949, p. 20. The comparison was made by projecting the figures available from this source to the year 1951.

A still younger age-group has been organized by the Communists. The Pioneers provide the leadership for this group, consisting of mixed units of boys and girls between the ages of five and eight. These children are called Braves (*Zuchy*), and the movement itself is very similar to that of the Little Octobrists in the Soviet Union.

The Service-to-Poland Organization

The para-military movement, known as Service to Poland (*Sluzba Polsce*—SP), was established much along the lines of the *Arbeitsdienst* in Nazi Germany. The Polish regime was apparently not satisfied with the unification of all previously organized political youth groups, since membership in the fused Polish Youth Union was voluntary. And as the great majority of the youth did not, and still does not, belong to ZMP, it thus at first was able to escape control. As already indicated, about five and one-half million youths of both sexes in Poland were eligible for membership in early 1955 (see Table 1), but only about 37 per cent of this number belonged to the Polish Youth Union (see Table 3). For this reason, in part, it was decided to establish a compulsory organization through which all youth would have to pass. The Service-to-Poland movement came into existence by a law "on the universal training for vocations, physical education, military preparation of youth, and on the organization for physical education and sports"³⁶ as a means toward direct control over the training of all youth. Article I of this statute sets forth the purpose of universal training as follows:

... the utilization of organized youth in the implementation of reconstruction and development plans for democratic people's Poland, the training of skilled technicians in all fields . . . guaranteeing youth a harmonious development of health and physical fitness as well as a high degree of social and national consciousness, and the preparation of youth for its highest task—defense of the Republic's independence.

The primary objective of the SP is not really premilitary training or physical preparation for the army, or even the utilization of free manpower on construction projects all over Poland, though all of these aspects are recognized as parts of its function. Janusz Neugebauer-Zarzycki, chief-commandant of Service to Poland at the time, declared that the principal objectives of the SP were of an ideological nature. He stated that "the task of much greater importance than fully incorporating the youth into the work of re-

³⁶ Ustawa z dnia 25 lutego 1948 roku, "O powszechnym obowiązku przysposobienia zawodowego, wychowania fizycznego i przysposobienia wojskowego młodzieży oraz organizacji spraw kultury fizycznej i sportu" (law of February 25, 1948, title translated in text above), *Dziennik Ustaw Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej* (Law Journal of the Polish Republic), Warsaw, No. 12, March 12, 1948.

construction is that of bringing up a new man for the new regime."³⁷ It has been estimated by Zambrowski that about 1.1 million Polish youths, as of 1949, were being trained in the SP at one time.³⁸ This was approximately 31 per cent of the 3,386,200 youths eligible for membership (sixteen to twenty-one years of age) at the start of that year. Training is conducted in specialized sections, like aviation, artillery, and paratroops. Standard army equipment and weapons are issued to all trainees.

Fulfillment of the universal schooling for vocations (time limit unspecified in the law) is connected with the simultaneous implementation of universal physical education and para-military training. The latter two take place independently in schools and workshops and at special centers and military-training facilities. Service-to-Poland members are engaged in physical labor for five hours of each weekday. The remainder of their training is in physical education and political enlightenment. It cannot be overemphasized that Service to Poland is a tool for the compulsory and universal moulding of the youth in the Communist *Weltanschauung*. The organizational cadres of the SP have all been staffed by the Polish Youth Union. This directing role of ZMP in Service to Poland has been explained thus:³⁹

... Service to Poland is one of the forms of ZMP activity and a basis for exercising ZMP influence upon the masses of unorganized youth. ...

An essential condition for positive implementation of the important tasks facing the Service to Poland is the saturation [*sic*] of the SP apparatus by the ZMP active. ...

Individual ZMP members and circles fulfill their directorial role in the SP by means of work in the divisions and brigades, through political agitation, by leading in labor and study. ...

Membership in the SP is obligatory, as already mentioned, for all boys and girls between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one. The period of total service in this organization is three years. The interval of work without compensation for the state officially does not total more than six months for youth under the conscription age, nor does it nominally exceed two years for youth above the draft age (eighteen). The latter category is recognized as the

³⁷ *Walka Młodych* (Youth Struggle), Warsaw, August 2, 1948. This publication was superseded by *Sztandar Młodych*.

³⁸ Zambrowski, *op. cit.*, p. 51. It should be noted, however, that training in the SP takes place according to a schedule which provides three separate "tours of duty" (spring, summer, and fall) during each year. Therefore the youth in the SP every year is actually well over 90 per cent. For an analysis of Zambrowski and the other puppets who currently rule Communist Poland, see R. F. Staar, "The PZPR Politburo," *American Slavic and East European Review* (April, 1956).

³⁹ F. Kedziorek, "O kierowniczej roli i zadaniach ZMP w SP" (The Directing Role and Tasks of ZMP in the SP), *Nasze Kolo Pracy*, Vol. IV (April, 1950), pp. 41-44.

equivalent of military service in the ground forces of the army.⁴⁰ Apart from regular duty, the SP may be mobilized for special projects, such as harvesting and construction work. These should not last longer than three days in any one month, again according to official regulations.

⁴⁰ See R. F. Staar, "Military Potential of Communist Poland," *Military Review* (July, 1956).

The Aged in Louisiana's Farm Population

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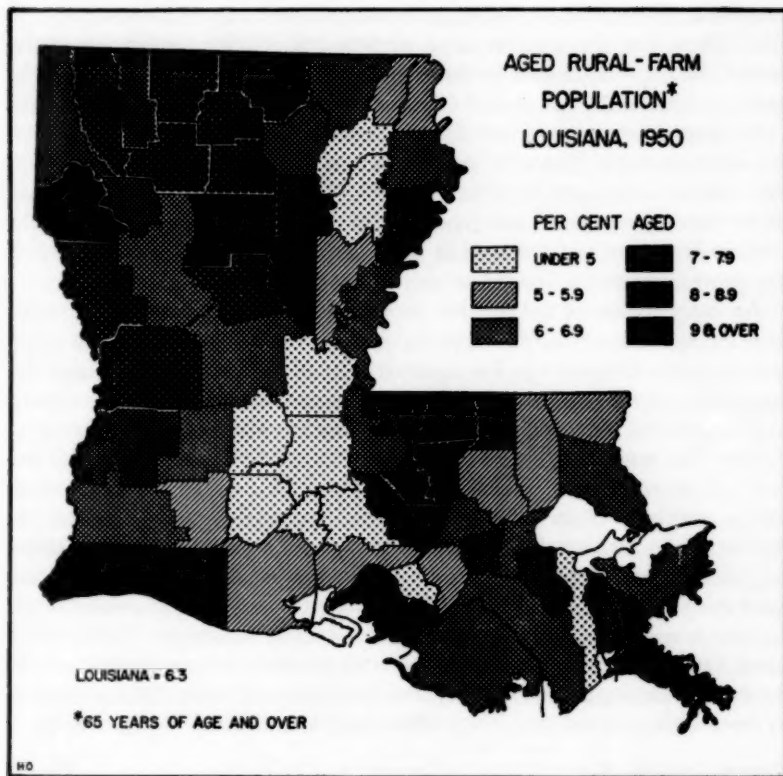
IN RECENT YEARS a great deal of attention has been focused upon the role and status of aged persons in the society. This has resulted from the inescapable facts revealed by the various census enumerations which show that this age group has undergone a significant relative and numerical increase since the beginning of the twentieth century. The aged, as a group, are characterized by a multitude of problems related to advanced years.¹ They are beset with poor health; they have dependency problems in that many of them cannot continue to support themselves; they have emotional problems related to the loss of a husband or wife through death; they have psychological problems because the physical decline accompanying old age often results in senility and other mental disorders; and they have more than their share of sociological problems stemming from the lack of self-gratifying and useful roles in society.

The majority of the studies which have been made on the subject are concerned with the aged persons in the general populations of the nation, states, and individual cities. Although a number of investigations have been devoted to retirement plans for farmers, few have been concerned with the over-all importance of aged persons in the total rural-farm society. The objectives of this study are to analyze the status of aged persons in the rural-farm population of Louisiana and to compare their situation to that of the aged in the urban and rural-nonfarm segments of the state.² This analysis

NOTE.—This paper was read before the Sociology Section of the Southwestern Social Science Association in Dallas, Texas, April 8, 1955.

¹ For the purpose of implementing the analysis, persons sixty-five years of age and over are considered as "aged." The author recognizes that the selection of this year of life as the beginning of old age is somewhat arbitrary; nevertheless, there are several justifications for this choice. Most retirement plans, private and public-service pension programs, and the Social Security Program of the United States view this year as the commencement of the aged period of life. Still further, there is biological evidence that for the majority of persons the sixty-fifth year is fairly representative of the time when the onset of the physical decline which so often accompanies old age is probable.

² This report is based upon findings from a larger study, *The Aged in Louisiana's Agriculture*, which is being conducted as a project in the Department of Rural Sociology, Louisi-



Source: *United States Census of Population: 1950, Vol. II; Characteristics of the Population, Louisiana, Part 18, Table 49.*

is deemed of importance in allowing for intelligent planning for aged members of the rural-farm society from the economic, social, and public welfare points of view. It also should point up the magnitude of the problem as presently existing in the rural-farm society and give indications of future expectations in the matter.

Number and Distribution

In the rural-farm population of Louisiana in 1950 there were 35,629 persons who were sixty-five years of age and over. This group constituted 6.3 per cent of the rural-farm population. In the state, there were 176,849

ana Agricultural Experiment Station, Baton Rouge, Louisiana. Data used in the analysis are from the *United States Census of Population: 1950, Vol. II; Characteristics of the Population, Louisiana, Part 18.*

persons in this age group, which composed 6.6 per cent of the total population. Therefore, the aged were of slightly less relative importance in the rural-farm population than in the total population. In the United States, the aged constituted 8.2 per cent of the nation's population in 1950. This means that the aged segments of both the total and rural-farm populations of Louisiana have not yet grown to the relation extent of the aged in the nation. Since in 1920 the aged constituted only 3.2 per cent of the farm population of the state, as compared to 6.3 per cent in 1950, a continued increase in the relative importance of the aged in Louisiana's society may be anticipated in the immediate years to follow.

An examination of the relative importance of the aged within the rural-farm populations of the different parishes indicates that considerable variation exists (see Figure 1). The aged constituted 9.0 per cent or more of the rural-farm population in five of the sixty-four parishes.³ On the other hand, in nine parishes this group made up less than 5 per cent of the farm people. Among the remaining parishes, the aged constituted from 5.0 to 5.9 per cent of the rural-farm population in ten parishes, 6.0 to 6.9 per cent in fifteen parishes, 7.0 to 7.9 per cent in thirteen parishes, and 8.0 to 8.9 per cent in eleven parishes. One parish (Orleans) has no rural-farm population. In general, the pattern seems to be for large proportions of the aged among farm people to prevail in the upland cotton-growing hill parishes of north Louisiana and in the cut-over area of west central Louisiana. On the other hand, low proportions of aged in the farm population were conspicuous in the mixed farming area of south central Louisiana and somewhat less marked in the Mississippi and Red River deltas and in south Louisiana generally.

Composition by Sex

In direct contrast to the situation of the aged in the other residential areas, the aged in the rural-farm population have a very high sex ratio. In the rural-farm population there were 129.5 males for each 100 females sixty-five years of age and over. Among the aged of the state as a whole, the sex ratio was only 87.5. Corresponding figures for the rural-nonfarm and urban populations were 96.9 and 71.3, respectively. Low sex ratios among the aged also prevailed in Louisiana's major cities: New Orleans, 66.1; Baton Rouge, 69.8; and Shreveport, 83.3. A consideration of the sex composition of the aged rural-farm population by race reveals that the difference holds for whites as well as nonwhites. The sex ratio was 124.5 for the whites and 137.8 for the nonwhites in that age group. Among aged whites and nonwhites in the rural-nonfarm and urban populations, low sex ratios prevail.

The fact that the aged farm population has a very high concentration of

³ In Louisiana, parishes are the political subdivisions which correspond to counties in other states.

males is important. That among Louisiana's aged people on farms there is a higher incidence of males than among the same age-group in cities and rural-nonfarm areas is to be expected, in view of the characteristically higher sex ratios of farm populations generally. However, the substantially greater proportion of males among the aged farm people as compared to other aged groups is somewhat surprising, since females have a clear-cut advantage in life expectancy in all groups. One would anticipate that the differential life expectancy favoring women would have caused females to be numerically dominant in the aged farm population. Undoubtedly, this factor has been largely responsible for the great numerical dominance of women among the aged population of the other areas.

In the farm population, however, there must be some other powerful factor at work which negates the situation which would obtain from the greater length of life of women as compared to men. The size of the sex ratios among the aged in the farm population indicates the extent to which this factor is operative. This male dominance probably obtains as a result of the migration of widowed aged farm women away from the farms to spend the remaining years of their life. Many of them undoubtedly go to reside with their children who are living in villages, towns, and cities. Widowed aged farm men, on the other hand, probably do not follow this migratory pattern, the majority of them spending their remaining years on the farm. Public welfare personnel and social planners should take cognizance of this difference and devise their programs accordingly. This male dominance means that the problems pertaining to the aged farm population are fundamentally different from those of the aged in other residential areas of the state.

Composition by Race

The aged farm population of Louisiana in 1950 was composed of a majority of native white persons, 59.1 per cent of them being in this category. Negroes accounted for 38.9 per cent, ranking as the second largest group. Foreign-born whites made up 1.9 per cent, and "other races" only 0.1 per cent. Comparable figures for the state's aged population are 61.2, 34.3, 4.4, and 0.1 per cent, respectively. These figures show that native-born whites and foreign-born whites are relatively less important among the aged on farms than among old persons in the state's total population. However, Negroes are relatively more numerous among the aged on farms than in the state. "Other races" constitute an insignificant part of both populations.

Marital Status

Marital status is an important indicator of the changes which have occurred in the pattern of family living of aged persons. These changes consti-

tute some of the most difficult problems which confront old persons. The data for 1950 show that 74.7 per cent of the aged rural-farm men were married, 20.1 per cent of them were widowed, 4.6 per cent were single, and 0.6 per cent were divorced. The proportion of married aged farm men is somewhat greater than that found in any of the other residential areas. For example, 69.2 per cent of the aged men in the rural-nonfarm population were married and 64.4 per cent in the urban population. It follows, of course, that the aged men on farms recorded the smallest proportions classified as widowed, single, and divorced.

The marital status of aged farm women is quite different from that of the men, as would be expected. In 1950, the largest proportion of the aged farm women was classified as widowed, 48.6 per cent being in this category. Of the remainder, 46.1 per cent were married, 4.9 per cent were single, and only 0.4 per cent were divorced. The aged farm women had lower proportions as widowed, single, and divorced than the aged women in the state's total population and in the other residential areas. Also, they had a considerably larger proportion of those who were married. For example, only 31.9 per cent of the aged women in the state were still married in 1950 as compared to 46.1 per cent of the aged farm women.

When considering marital status of aged persons by race, only slight differences are noted. The aged nonwhite men on farms had about the same marital status as the aged white men. They had a slightly higher proportion married and a slightly lower proportion classified as single. Aged nonwhite farm women recorded a slightly lower proportion single and a slightly higher proportion widowed than their white counterparts.

Relationship to the Head of the Household

The relationship of the aged person to the head of the household in which he resides is an indicator of the adjustments which have been made as a result of his advanced years. In 1950, a great majority of the farm men sixty-five years of age and over were classified as the head of the household in which they lived, 83.4 per cent of them being so classified. Of the remainder, 9.9 per cent were parents of the head of the household, 4.6 per cent were other relatives of the head, 1.9 per cent were lodgers, and insignificant proportions were children of the head and resident employees, 0.1 per cent comprising both categories. Aged persons in the state's population had a slightly lower proportion—81.6 per cent—classified as head of households, and a considerably larger proportion—3.7 per cent—in the lodger category.

Approximately the same relationship obtained for aged white and non-white men on farms as described above for the total aged farm men. The most significant difference seems to be in the proportion classified as parent

of the head of the household. The figure for the aged white farm men is 11.5 per cent as compared to 7.5 per cent for aged nonwhite men in farm areas. In general, higher proportions of the aged nonwhite men are classified as other relatives of the head and as lodgers.

The situation among aged farm women in regard to the relationship to the head of the household is considerably different from that of the men, as is to be expected. The farm women sixty-five years of age and over were classified as follows in 1950: wife of the head, 40.4 per cent; parent of the head, 27.8 per cent; head of the household, 21.6 per cent; other relative, 8.5 per cent; lodger, 1.4 per cent; child of the head, 0.2 per cent; resident employee, 0.1 per cent. In the state as a whole aged women had a significantly higher proportion classified as head of the household, and a considerably lower proportion listed as wife of the head. These figures were 36.4 per cent and 27.5 per cent, respectively.

In considering the relationship of aged farm women to the head of the household by race, some significant differences are noted. The aged nonwhite women in the rural-farm population were classified in larger proportion—10.2 per cent—as other relatives of the head than their counterparts in the white population. Also considerably larger proportions of the aged nonwhite farm women—26.3 per cent—are living with their children and are classified as parents of the head than among the total aged nonwhite female population, 20.0 per cent.

Educational Status

In general the aged persons of the state are a poorly educated group of citizens. This is not surprising, for their educational attainment represents the product of a rural educational system of fifty years ago. As the new generations move into the advanced stages of life, undoubtedly this low educational status will change, as it will reflect the achievements of our modern school systems. Among aged farm men, 28.9 per cent had never attended school, and 62.7 per cent had attended only elementary school. Aged farm men who had attended high school accounted for only 6.2 per cent, and those who had attended college made up only 2.2 per cent. Generally, the data show that aged farm men have a lower educational status than aged men in the other residential areas. They recorded the lowest proportions that had attended high school and college, and they had a very large proportion that had received no formal schooling, being exceeded in this latter measurement only by those aged men living in rural-nonfarm areas—28.9 per cent as compared to 31.7 per cent.

A consideration of the educational status of aged men by race clearly shows a greater attainment on the part of whites as compared to nonwhites. In the farm population, only 19.3 per cent of the aged white men had no

formal education as compared to 43.3 per cent for the nonwhites. Also very small proportions of the aged rural-farm nonwhite men had attended high school and college—1.6 per cent and 0.4 per cent, respectively. Comparable figures for the aged white men on farms are 9.3 per cent and 3.4 per cent.

Among aged farm women in 1950, 30.9 per cent had no formal education, 58.3 per cent had attended elementary school, 8.4 per cent had gone to high school, and 2.4 per cent had studied in college. Aged farm women had less educational attainment than aged women in the state's total population. For example, only 22.7 per cent of the aged women in the state had no formal education as compared to 30.9 per cent among farm women. Aged women in the rural-nonfarm population, however, had the largest relative numbers with no formal schooling—32.5 per cent.

An analysis of educational status of aged women by race shows the same differential in schooling which prevailed among the aged men. Aged non-white women have lower educational achievements than aged white women.

Employment Status

The majority of the aged men sixty-five years of age and over in the farm population of Louisiana are no longer part of the labor force, 54.6 per cent of them being no part of the labor force in 1950. Virtually all of the aged farm women—96.0 per cent—were no part of the labor force. However, those aged persons who are part of the labor force maintain steady employment. Only 0.4 per cent of the aged farm men who were part of the labor force were unemployed in 1950. The comparable figure for aged farm women was 0.8 per cent. The proportions of unemployed aged persons in the labor force are considerably higher in the other residential areas.

Most of the problems related to aged persons center around those individuals who are no longer part of the labor force. For the most part, they are persons who have become dependent upon society or relatives for their sustenance and welfare. Of the 11,110 aged farm men not in the labor force in 1950, by far the largest proportion—78.9 per cent—was classified as unable to work. The remainder was classified as "keeping house"—1.3 per cent—and "other and not reported"—19.8 per cent. Comparable figures for the state's aged male population are 69.6 per cent, 1.7 per cent, and 26.6 per cent, respectively. In the state's total aged male population, 2.1 per cent were inmates of institutions. No such institutions are found in the rural-farm areas. It is significant that of all of the residential areas, the aged farm men had the largest proportions classified as unable to work. The proportion of the aged men unable to work is larger among nonwhites than whites, the data showing 81.5 per cent of the former and 77.4 per cent of the latter so classified in 1950.

As is to be expected, the status of aged women who are not part of the

labor force is considerably different from that of the aged men. The majority of this group were keeping house in 1950, whereas the majority of the aged men were unable to work. Of the 15,085 aged farm women not part of the labor force, 53.6 per cent were keeping house in 1950, 40.0 per cent were unable to work, and 6.4 per cent had other classifications or were not reported. The proportion of aged farm women unable to work is somewhat higher than among aged women in the state as a whole, only 35.5 per cent being in the latter category. The aged white farm women were more able to work than their nonwhite counterparts, only 35.3 per cent of the former being unable to work in 1950 as compared to 47.8 per cent among the latter.

Income

Aged persons in the farm population have the lowest median income of the aged in any of the residential areas. In 1950, aged males in the farm population had a median income of \$757 and aged females of \$692. Comparable figures for the state's total aged population were \$823 and \$712, respectively. Of the aged farm men, 9.8 per cent had no income, 16.5 per cent received from \$1 to \$499 or sustained a loss; 55.7 per cent earned between \$500 and \$999; 8.7 per cent had incomes between \$1,000 and \$1,499; 2.8 per cent received between \$1,500 and \$1,999; and 6.5 per cent earned more than \$2,000.

The proportion of aged farm women with no income is much larger than that among aged farm men, 32.0 per cent of the women having no incomes in 1950. Of the remainder, 15.1 per cent received between \$1 and \$499 or sustained a loss; 49.2 per cent had incomes between \$500 and \$999; 1.7 per cent received from \$1,000 to \$1,499; 0.7 per cent had incomes of between \$1,500 and \$1,999; and 1.3 per cent received \$2,000 and over.

Among both men and women, the other residential areas, for the most part, had larger proportions of aged persons with no incomes than were found among the comparable group in the farm population. The other residential areas, on the other hand, reported larger proportions, with incomes over \$2,000.

Conclusions

Significant generalizations about the aged farm population of Louisiana which may be formulated on the basis of the research herein presented are as follows:

1. The aged farm population is dominated numerically by males, in direct contrast to the aged populations of the other residential areas, which are dominated numerically by females. This is the most salient difference noted between aged persons on farms as compared to those residing in the urban and nonfarm areas.

2. Slightly more than half of the aged persons on farms are native whites and slightly less than half are Negroes. The remainder are foreign-born whites. Negroes are relatively more numerous among the aged on farms in Louisiana than in the other residential areas.

3. The majority of the aged farm men are married and the largest proportion of the aged farm women is widowed. About one-fourth of the aged farm men also are widowed.

4. More than four-fifths of the aged men on farms are still the heads of the households in which they live. However, considerably less than half of the aged women are wives of the head of the household. Significant proportions of both aged men and women are living with their children. About one-tenth of the men and more than one-fourth of the women are in this category.

5. In general, aged people on farms are a poorly educated group. More than one-fourth of the aged men and almost one-third of the aged women had no formal schooling at all. This situation characterizes aged persons in each of the residential areas of the state.

6. The majority of the aged persons on farms are no longer part of the labor force. More than half of the men and virtually all of the women were no longer part of the labor force in 1950.

7. The bulk of the aged farm men not part of the labor force are unable to work, more than three-fourths of them being in this category in 1950. Of the farm women, approximately two-fifths were also unable to work.

8. Aged persons on farms have lower median incomes than their counterparts in the other residential areas. They have larger proportions with low incomes and smaller proportions with high incomes than found among aged persons living in urban and rural-nonfarm areas.

Trade-Union Education as an Anti-Communist Weapon in Italy

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THE POSTWAR UNIFICATION of Italy's labor unions—a product of ardent Communist persuasion and Allied encouragement—terminated abruptly in 1948. Four years of turbulent activity by the Italian General Confederation of Labor (CGIL) served to convince even the most skeptical that the Communists who controlled the confederation were blatantly manipulating a united labor movement as a political instrument of Italian and international communism. CGIL's open hostility to the Marshall Plan acted as a catalyst. The Christian Democratic unionists, currently to be found in the Italian Confederation of Workers' Unions, were the first to break ranks. They were later followed by disillusioned Republicans and Social Democrats who also formed their own confederation when it became apparent that the CGIL leadership would not willingly temper its political opportunism.

The free confederations have since been involved in campaigns to gain ascendancy over CGIL, but the competition has thus far been distressingly uneven. Two decades of servile trade-unionism under fascism resulted in a marked leadership vacuum at war's end. A few well-meaning but anachronistic pre-Fascist leaders were resurrected, but they satisfied only a fraction of the demand for leaders. Significantly, it was the Communist party—the only group that had maintained at least a skeletal framework in Italy throughout the Fascist era—that provided the overwhelming proportion of fresh, vigorous leadership. These young men, many of them hardened by experiences in the Partisan movement, quickly occupied the key points in the union hierarchy, thus enabling the Communist party to dictate the policies and strategies of the united labor movement.

Although the labor schisms of 1948–49 denied to the Italian Communists the continued manipulation of the trade-unions, they did not solve the leadership dilemma of the nascent free confederations. Indeed, the breaks with CGIL dramatically spotlighted the great need for able, devoted administrators at all levels. Moreover, CGIL's rapid emergence from the crisis of partial disintegration served as a further reminder that the Communists and their Nenni Socialist allies would continue to dominate the Italian labor

scene unless and until drastic measures were taken to redress the leadership balance.

In order to meet this challenge, CISL (*Confederazione Italiana Sindacati dei Lavoratori*, commonly called Italian Confederation of Workers' Unions) has worked incessantly to develop a dynamic program of leadership education that is worthy of careful attention. It is the purpose of this paper to describe certain aspects of this program and to suggest the extent to which it is functional for a viable democratic labor movement inside Italy.

Educational Activities of the CISL

The educational activities of CISL fall broadly into two categories: (1) special *ad hoc* programs, and (2) programs of extended formal training. Under the first heading would be included the myriad meetings and conventions organized each year to deal with relatively narrow subjects. These meetings may focus on the problems of a single labor category, such as metal workers, masons, or public employees. Or special attention may be paid to the economic conditions and trade-union prospects within a geographic subdivision, such as the South. Occasionally, matters of concern to the entire confederation may be brought under discussion.¹ Of critical significance for the goals of CISL's national policy-makers have been the frequent conferences on productivity conducted in co-operation with the United States Foreign Operations Administration. Whenever possible, free trade-unionists who have traveled in the United States as members of technical assistance teams are invited to participate as conferees. They are encouraged and expected to impart to others the technical and organizational know-how accumulated during their American observations. Attendance at several such conferences made me aware that many of the trade-unionists develop garbled and often misinformed notions regarding American trade-unions and economic practices. However, some team members return to Italy with realistically useful suggestions to make for their own unions, and, in any case, the conferences often serve to clarify and to structure the thinking of most of the participants.

By far the most significant aspects of CISL's educational effort, however, are those which fall under the second heading—programs of extended formal training. At present there are two such training centers, one at Ladispoli, a small community in the vicinity of Rome, and another at Florence, and it is to these that we devote major attention here.

Ladispoli short courses.—The institution at Ladispoli was opened in the

¹ Typical of this type of program is the convention held at Florence in May, 1953, to deal with the problems of the *mezzadri* ("sharecroppers"). In this as in other similar meetings, CISL invited nonunion experts and technicians to act as participants.—See *Conquista del lavoro*, May 11, 1953, pp. 6–7; August 5, 1950, p. 1.

spring of 1952, and it differs from the older, more comprehensive, Florentine center (*Centro Studi*) in that it is concerned primarily with the problems of the South, and its students are exclusively trade-unionists who have had some leadership experience. Typical of the school's activity were the eleven one-week training sessions held for 341 CISL leaders from March 30 to May 11, 1953. The groups were divided by occupational category so that those working in such areas as food handling, construction, mining, teaching, and agriculture could meet together to analyze common problems.²

The lectures and discussions at Ladispoli are directed by outside experts (e.g., academics, public administrators, FOA personnel), by members of the CISL secretariat, and particularly by the components of CISL's research division. Where it appears advisable, the national directors of industrial unions are asked to lead discussions regarding matters which are peculiar to the union concerned. Such sessions are especially rewarding in that they bring young activists into direct contact with those leaders who are presumed to be thoroughly conversant with the needs of the national industrial unions. Even though some of the discussions lean unreasonably in the direction of abstraction, CISL's national leaders are undoubtedly correct in suggesting that *any* training is of some value to the backward, leadership-starved South.

Florence study center.—The larger of CISL's educational enterprises flourishes at Florence. Although short courses of the Ladispoli variety are occasionally offered, the center exists primarily to provide an academic year's instruction for the young men and women who are expected to become the future top-rung leaders of the confederation. Thus the center, which operates under the supervision of the national secretariat's research division, has a comprehensive curriculum and a staff of young, experienced academics who provide instruction.

In order to become reasonably well acquainted with its operations, I visited the center from March 22–28, 1953, and again in April of the same year. During these periods I lived at the center, interviewed the students, attended classes, participated in group discussions, became acquainted with several members of the staff, and engaged in a number of profitable discussions with the director and vice-director of the organization. What follows is a summary and a synthesis of the data derived from these research pursuits.

The anticipated functions of the program.—The most pressing demand which the center seeks to satisfy is that of improving CISL's leadership resources vis-à-vis CGIL. The need is particularly felt at the local level, where CISL officials are either too few in number or too inexperienced to compete effectively with Communist union personnel. Thus members of the national secretariat are continually having to devote to local matters time which they

² *Ibid.*, June 21, 1953, pp. 8–9.

wish to devote exclusively to the national realm. CISL local functionaries often resent this "interference," but the pattern is likely to continue until the secretariat is convinced that reliable leaders control the line units of the organization.

However, successful competition with CGIL is not the only consideration governing the activities of the center. Equally pressing is the need for the technical training of union activists, which will enable them to confront organized industrialists and landowners on a firm footing. If the free trade-unionists are to hold their own in highly complex negotiations, they must be well equipped in such fields as demography, economics, public and private investment, production and consumption, price determination, the structure of distribution, corporate financing and profits, and so on. So long as the labor leaders remain inferior to their bargaining counterparts, countless negotiations will be resolved in favor of management because of the successful steam-roller tactics employed by management's experts. Moreover, stalemates at the bargaining table generally result in free labor's having to go along with precipitous strikes called by a CGIL that is more interested in creating economic unrest and chaos than it is in arriving at the peaceful solution of disputes. The Florence center is intended to offer a way out of such quandaries, and some of the dramatic victories that CISL has recently scored over both CGIL and Italian management reveal that important dividends can be derived from a campaign to sharpen the technical capacities of labor leaders.³

Finally, the most ambitious long-run intention of the center is the evolving of a new type of trade-union leader, one who will be "unencumbered" by traditional patterns of union behavior. As the center's director described the experiment, it would aim at two goals: (1) inducing present leaders to accept the philosophy that strikes, demands for high wages, and a class-conflict approach to labor-management relations are passé, expecting these leaders instead to persuade the rank and file that economic sacrifices now will mean genuine gains in the future; (2) training the model union leader of the future, who will have ingrained in his personality a collaborationistic approach to union activity. Operationally, this kind of unionist would eschew the use of political strikes, would not make demagogic demands of management and the government, and would use the economic strike only as a weapon of last resort. As a member of CISL he would be expected to be "reasonable" in his demands and to further the "general welfare" by demon-

³ The most recent example of a CISL victory is the agreement on *conglobamento* ("unification of wage factors") reached in June, 1954. In this instance CISL succeeded in reaching an accord with management despite CGIL's effort to sabotage any possibility of reconciling labor-management differences.—See issues of *Conquista del lavoro*, and CGIL's weekly, *Lavoro*, during the period, May–July, 1954.

strating a willingness to co-operate with other societal groups in the solution of pressing socioeconomic problems. In short, it is CISL's long-range strategy dramatically to differentiate its activities from those pursued by CGIL and through this differentiation to win more members by proving that peaceful labor-management relations can lead to concrete gains for the Italian working class.

The training curriculum.—The structure of the center's program reflects the attempt to satisfy all of the above aims. From October through January courses are offered in political and economic theory, history, elements of statistics, private and constitutional law, and social legislation. During this preparatory period, as it is called, some stress is placed on giving each course the type of emphasis that will maximize its usefulness for future trade-unionists. The second major instructional phase extends from March through May. It deals largely with courses in comparative labor movements, Italian labor history, trade-union theory, and the economic policies of organized labor. Of special merit during this period is the seminar on trade-union techniques, conducted by practitioners within the confederation rather than by academics. The students are unanimous in their conviction that tremendously valuable bread-and-butter knowledge is imparted by these seminars.

In between the two major instructional sessions is sandwiched a month of field work for each student. Each student who successfully completes his preparatory work is assigned to an operating unit of the confederation. The trainees are expected to hold responsible positions wherever they are assigned, and every effort is made to assure them some experience in both the policy-making and policy-executing processes of the trade-union organization involved. At the termination of the field period, the student is required to submit a written analysis on the operation of the agency to which he was attached. These reports are then evaluated by the group as a whole, and they are also used, together with other evaluations, to determine the kind of assignment that the trainee will receive at the conclusion of his work at the center.

In making permanent assignments, CISL leadership gives all possible consideration to the esoteric interests of the student. However, the welfare of the confederation is the overriding consideration, and the student is generally assigned where the need is greatest and where he is likely to put his *expertise* to the most efficient use.

Geographical, Social, and Political Backgrounds of the Students

The class of twenty-three students in attendance during my observations represented every major region of Italy, including Sicily and Sardinia. Among them were two women who had been active in union affairs. Although most of the students were chosen on the basis of written competitive

examinations, there were some who had been appointed directly by the national secretariat. Only three of the students interviewed expressed dissatisfaction over the use of this subjective criterion of selection, and even they were quick to acknowledge that all trainees, once enrolled at the center, had to meet exactly the same academic requirements in order to survive. Indeed, within the group I observed that those who had been named by the secretariat were clearly the intellectual leaders of the class and generally recognized as such by students as well as instructors. On the whole the students were quite willing to admit that, until the training program becomes more firmly institutionalized, the national leaders will have to be granted broad discretion in the naming of trainees.

Particularly interesting were the social backgrounds of the students composing the group. Data regarding the educational level, occupation, and income of parents revealed that all but five of the trainees were of working-class origin. The remaining five were of families that would fit into a broad classification of the Italian lower middle-class. In general, parents were manual workers, sharecroppers, poor tenant farmers, and the like. The students themselves, however, had given some evidence of being upward mobile prior to selection for training at the center. At the same time most of them had achieved levels of education higher than those of both parents, and half of them were working in middle-class positions. It is also worth mentioning that all of the students assumed that their eventual roles in the trade-union hierarchy would place them firmly in the Italian middle class.

The political character of the students was somewhat more difficult to gauge. Only five of the twenty-three were willing to state categorically that they supported a specific political party (four Christian Democrats and one Social Democrat). The remainder were either evasive or claimed to be "apolitical" or not interested in any of the nation's political parties as such. Yet, in their discussions most of them were clearly oriented toward the program and the philosophy of the Christian Democratic party. I learned later from one of the directors that all of the students but two were Christian Democrats but that the trainees paid lip service to the idea of "apoliticism" in order to conform to the official CISL position on the relationship between trade-unions and political parties.⁴ The lopsided political configuration of the student body is readily explained by the dearth of Republican and Social Democratic workers affiliated with CISL. It is manifestly difficult, and hardly justifiable, to allot a grossly disproportionate number of places at the Florence center to representatives of political factions that are insignificant minorities within the confederation.

⁴ For an analysis of the political role that trade-unions do play in Italy, see Joseph G. LaPalombara, "The Political Role of Organized Labor in Western Europe," *Journal of Politics*, Vol. 17 (February, 1955), pp. 59-81.

The inclination toward the philosophy of Christian Democracy is also evident in the instruction provided by the center. The instructors who are called in to give lectures tend to stress the socioeconomic views of organized Catholicism; they seek to get across notions of class collaboration, private ownership of property, social welfare, industrial responsibility, and human nature that do not do violence to Catholic doctrines. Although there are no grounds for criticizing such an orientation on an *a priori* basis, it will be pointed out later that certain unanticipated consequences stem from it so far as viable free trade-unionism is concerned.

CISL Educational Problems: The Productivity Program

A number of problems raised by the CISL educational program can be discussed at this juncture. Some of these are admittedly of an internal mechanical nature; others go to the very heart of the long-range goals that the program is designed to achieve.

One serious dilemma grows out of the marked diversity of formal preparation that characterizes the student body. The educational achievement of the students whom I observed ranged from the fifth elementary grade to three years of college training in economics. Their ability to cope with highly complex materials, such as Marxist and Keynesian economics, naturally varied markedly. Instructors with whom I discussed this problem admitted that it was not only difficult to gear lectures to the wide range of comprehension potential represented by the students but also that there was great internal compulsion to pitch class discussions to the level of the common intellectual denominator. The confederation is of course sensible of this problem, recognizing that the students with the best educational backgrounds may not be deriving maximum benefit from the experience at Florence. There is no tendency, however, to restrict the entrance of those who have a minimum amount of formal educational training. Instead, it is pointed out that those students who are inadequately prepared generally tend to be highly motivated and that they make up for their initial deficiencies by greater dedication and longer hours of study and application.

Another major internal problem is that of injecting young "experts" into a bureaucratic structure staffed by many leaders who carry over from the pre-Fascist era. These men joined the labor movement at a time when the most important leadership attributes were considered to be oratorical ability and the physical stamina and courage essential to survival in clashes with goon squads, the police, and government troops. Understandably, these older leaders view the new "technicians" with suspicion and hostility. In a sense, this crisis is analogous to that which occurred in the U.S.S.R. when the technicians of the Stalin epoch began to compete with and to replace the propagandists and orators who had been involved in the revolutions of 1917.

Given the conflict of roles and status which CISL's program entails, the transformation will of necessity have to be gradual; the younger leaders will be under great compulsion to avoid flaunting their newly acquired *expertise*, and to avoid making any quick, heavy-handed attempts to displace the older generation in one fell swoop. Without the stabilizing influence of human sensitivity, there is every possibility that this attempt at metamorphosis could split the confederation wide open. At Florence, at least, the leadership is cognizant of the pitfalls and has attempted to convey the need for handling the problem with finesse. Although sufficient data on reactions to the trainees in the field are not yet available, enough is known of opposition from the "old guard" to caution prudence. For to press so rapidly and insistently as to cause internal schism would be as conducive of continued CGIL domination as is the existing situation.

The emphasis on theory is also a source of some concern regarding the center's curriculum. In spite of a conscious effort by the national leadership to school the trainees in the bread-and-butter aspects of trade-union affairs, the courses themselves are not nearly so empirically meaningful as they might be. This is not to say that theoretical discussions are without value; it is to say that they merely loom as wasteful of precious time when viewed alongside the relatively slight attention paid such topics as plant-level organization, the organization and conduct of strikes, techniques of collective bargaining, grievance-committee procedures, and so on. The center's courses thus reflect the Italian academic emphasis on legalism, historicism, and abstract theory. Indeed, the director chafes under the accusation made by some of Italy's academics that the center's approach is much too practical. The students themselves, several of whom had been to the United States as members of technical assistance teams, felt that they would profit much more from a greater emphasis on what they called the "technical" problems of trade-union organization. To the extent that such a modification in emphasis may be forthcoming in the future, we can expect CISL to be in a strengthened position to dent CGIL's domination of Italian trade-unionism.

Perhaps the most significant criticism that can be made of the CISL educational program is that it is unrealistic or ill adapted to the conditions of Italian society. By this I mean that there is little evidence that purely "technical" trade-unionism—patterned closely along the assumed characteristics of American trade-unionism—can be made attractive to the Italian worker. As noted earlier, the model trade-unionist is defined by CISL as one in a position to demonstrate the superiority of the collaborationistic over the class-conflict approach to labor-management relations. "Human relations" in the plant is a device expected to usher in a new era of humane treatment of labor by Italy's industrialists. In short, the model trade-unionist will be one who subscribes to, and acts upon, a combination of Catholic social

and economic philosophy and American practices (recent!) in industrial relations.

In line with this orientation, the major tactical weapon developed by CISL in recent years is its productivity program. As early as 1950 the confederal leadership took the position that in order to make a major contribution to the economic rehabilitation of the nation the worker must increase his own productive output. Furthermore—and this is the point that concerns us primarily here—*CISL revealed its willingness to renounce all demands for wage increases unless it could be shown that such increases were justified by greater labor productivity.*⁵ In other words, CISL would not challenge the *status quo* regarding the distribution of goods and services, and it would ask for wage increases only after the worker had jumped his productivity. This was and remains the keystone of CISL's approach to collective bargaining, and to the pressing need for providing effective competition to CGIL.

At CISL's request, the government brought a National Productivity Committee (*Comitato Nazionale per la Produttività*—CNP) into existence late in 1951. This committee, on which CISL was accorded representation, selected a number of "demonstration plants" as showpieces of what labor-management-government co-operation could mean in terms of better productivity and better wages. The work of CNP dovetailed very closely with United States Mutual Security Agency efforts to augment Italian industrial production, and, as a result, the American agency co-operated in the experiment to the extent of providing technical experts for the demonstration plants, assisting in the conduct of productivity meetings and training programs for representatives of trade-unions and management and generally doing everything possible to impart to Italians the techniques of American industrial know-how.

Unfortunately, little was done to protect the interests of the trade-unions in the demonstration plants.⁶ CNP was controlled by professors, politicians, and technicians who had little interest in strengthening the position of the free trade-unions. Indeed, one of the demonstration plants had a long record of antiunion activity and was clearly unprepared to accept CISL representatives as integral participants in the program. Moreover, there was initially an attempt, supported by CISL, to freeze the Social Democratic Union of Labor out of the program entirely. The Social Democrats were eventually admitted, but their leaders became so convinced that the experiment would

⁵ *CISL, I lavoratori difendono l'Italia; l'Italia difenda i lavoratori* (Rome, 1951), pp. 34–41.

⁶ The Mutual Security Agency (currently the Foreign Operations Administration), except for some of its officials in the Labor Division, did little in this respect. In a personal interview with one of the top officials of the agency, I learned that the organization was not concerned with the problem of "milk-feeding" the free unions and that it felt the unions should develop their own prowess.

backfire to the detriment of the free unions that they abandoned the CNP in 1953.

The misgivings of the Italian Union of Labor proved to be completely justified. The managers of the demonstration plants evinced a great reluctance to arrive at any definite agreements regarding the precise manner in which the workers would share in the increased profits derived from higher levels of productivity. In the light of management's unwillingness to grant wage increases—even after demonstrable increases in worker productivity—CGIL attacked CISL's behavior as a gloss for a modern form of Taylorism. The free unions were accused of duplicity in their dealings with their members; it was argued in the Communist press that CISL was interested primarily in bringing about the greater exploitation of an already overburdened working class. The possibility that CISL's policy was actually playing into the hands of the Communists was suggested by the fact that the productivity program itself has not obtained any dramatic results in economic production, to say nothing of providing the workers with a better standard of living.

It seems to me that the productivity program is an excellent example of the shortsighted manner in which CISL has approached the problem of competing effectively with CGIL. In the first place it must be emphasized that the productivity program involves a major attempt at social change in Italy. In addition, because the program has been deliberately patterned along American lines, it presupposes the possibility of institutional transfer. Because a high degree of productivity appeared to CISL leaders to be the matrix of American economic well-being, they concluded that the introduction of similar patterns in Italy would alleviate the country's economic ills. Very few of these officials, or their American advisers, sought to analyze in a systematic way the obstacles that would be encountered in the ambitious campaign. Moreover, the query as to whether productivity in American terms was either possible or desirable was apparently never raised; affirmative conclusions were simply assumed. Interestingly, a number of Italians have been critical of the role which Americans—working through CISL—have played in this attempt to introduce innovations into Italian society. A spokesman of Catholic Action's ACLI (Christian Association of Italian Workers) had this to say about the productivity program:

The reasoning of Americans was simple: we do not have Communism; we do not have unemployment; we have a continuously expanding production; the living standard of our working class improves every day. For all of which the key-stone must consist in the system under which our productive economy is organized.

So they decided to bequeath us this system which came to be called productivity.⁷

⁷ Giancarlo Moro, "La produttività nell'economia italiana," *Quaderni di azione sociale*, Vol. 3 (May, 1953), p. 3.

More recently, the Social Democratic party's daily newspaper observed that the United States was being misled into believing that Italy's industrialists would actually co-operate with the program. It said:

Unfortunately, the Americans are obstinate in not understanding that the productivity "experiment," like an organic system of industrial nationalization, postulates for Italy a radical transformation of conditions which cannot be the result of a spontaneous assimilation of concepts on the part of our industrialists.⁸

Let us consider the most obvious differences between the United States and Italy which have a direct bearing on the viability of CISL's program. The United States is a country blessed with an overabundance of raw materials, and with labor in short supply. Exactly the opposite conditions prevail in Italy. The consequences of a glutted Italian labor market have been at least twofold: (1) there exists a high degree of unemployment, which Italy's classical economists piously refer to as "structural," and (2) a significant proportion of both industry and agriculture is featherbedded. Under these circumstances any comprehensive campaign to jump productivity would entail mass dismissals. However, all of Italy's trade-unions, including CISL, have rigidly opposed layoffs and have actually sought to increase the incidence of artificial employment in both agriculture and industrial spheres. Thus, while CISL accepted the productivity program on the one hand, it sought guarantees that the program would not result in dismissals on the other.

Obviously one could not expect Italian industrialists to view the program in the same terms. And they have not. Spokesmen for *Confindustria* (General Confederation of Italian Industries) have been quite emphatic in their insistence that the state, and not industry through featherbedding, should carry the internal burden of unemployment. Management argues that layoffs are justified wherever productivity has improved, while CISL, like its union competitors, has opposed such measures every step of the way. It is fair to describe this situation as confusing. Out of the confusion, however, CGIL is able to make the salient point that the productivity campaign is used by management largely as a rationale for swelling still further the overcrowded ranks of the jobless.

As a second consideration, I would suggest that Italian management is not prepared to accept the long-term implications of productivity and "human relations" in the plant. Management clearly sees in the greater-productivity-through-better-human-relations notion an important challenge to the prevailing social scheme of things. The idea of the worker as partner rather than as servant in the plant situation is, for the owner, a radical

⁸ *La giustizia*, February 10, 1953, p. 2. Official organ of the Italian Democratic Socialist party, this newspaper generally tends to reflect the labor views of the Italian Union of Labor.

innovation designed to question and eventually to modify the structure of private ownership. In a society where property ownership is prestige-determining and where social distinctions are rigidly maintained, it is entirely possible that the plant owner will elect to forego greater profits deriving from increased productivity if the alternative of co-operating with organized labor might lead to basic social mutation. It is sufficient that management perceive such a danger as real to result in its refusal to go along as CISL would wish. It should also be noted here that the concept of "human relations" in American industry is a recent phenomenon which was some time in evolving, and that even in the United States the unions must maintain vigilance in order to counteract the tendency of human relations to degenerate into a highly sophisticated but nonetheless antitrade-union form of paternalism. In Italy paternalism is almost an assured consequence of the human-relations approach, given the relative naïveté and inexperience of the free trade-unions in this area. Before CISL leaders can expect to carry off this kind of strategy successfully they will have to plan systematically to cope with the hazards inherent in it.

Third, there is scant evidence that those industrialists who are willing to co-operate in productivity campaigns are also prepared to share with labor the greater profits derived from improvements in production. *Confindustria* has on numerous occasions suggested that the worker will benefit from the program in his capacity as consumer; other industrialists have rightly protested that it is extremely difficult to determine specifically what proportion of the increased income of a firm should be ascribed to streamlined production. In other words, CISL may be attempting to emulate American unions in a society in which the American system of refined cost accounting has not yet developed.

That CISL can be made the object of severe and effective CGIL attacks because of the productivity policy is demonstrated in the case of one of the five "demonstration plants" selected at Vicenza. Long after the firm revealed a profit increase of several million lire as the result of improved productivity, labor had not received any share of this new-found wealth. When pressed on the issue, management replied that a commission had been appointed to investigate the possible ways in which labor could receive a just share. The appointment of a commission in Italy is of course the surest way of delaying and evading action, and of avoiding responsibility in the long run. When one is confronted with examples such as this, CGIL's claim that management is interested in the program only insofar as it provides a means of greater exploitation of labor does not seem whimsical.

I would add as a final point that CISL educators err fundamentally in conveying to the Florence trainees the idea that American productivity has been a planned phenomenon. It is belief in this that causes CISL to equate

"reasonable" trade-unionism with its "no productivity—no wage increase" policy. The fact is, however, that American management was compelled to seek out improved productive techniques as a *consequence* of the extraordinarily high wage rates that the unions were able to extract for their members. Management became preoccupied with productivity when the unions developed to the point where the payment of subsistence wages was no longer a realistic possibility. In addition, the shortage of an adequate labor supply in a rapidly expanding economy added to the pressure for improvements in the techniques of production.

Italy, however, is caught up in the vicious circle implicit in the low wage-low productivity theory. Italian industrialists are not easily persuaded that to raise wages would eventually bring more profits through improved productivity. Yet we find CISL, a relatively weak union by American standards, in the anomalous position of begging industrialists to co-operate in productivity campaigns in order that the worker might eventually share in greater profits! This situation gives the industrialist every opportunity to participate only to the extent that his economic gain will not have to be divided with labor. Of greater significance is the prospect that the Communist-led unions will benefit competitively in direct proportion to the failure of CISL to derive from the program the anticipated consequences.

In spite of the suggested deficiencies in the CISL training program, this analysis need not conclude on a note of pessimism. The mere existence of a structured process of labor education is an important step forward so far as Western European trade-union practices are concerned. The need for technically trained union activists is a pressing one, and the center at Florence tends to inject into the confederation a potentially very functional group of leaders who will maximize the organization's probability of survival in the union struggle. More important in the long run is the possibility that the educational program will compel CISL periodically to reappraise its role in Italian society and therefore to avoid the tendency of all European unions to behave on assumptions regarding their societies that were true, if ever, only in another era.

The major cause for the weaknesses in CISL's program seems to lie in the confederation's unwillingness to engage in any form of "me-tooism," that is, to emulate the class-oriented tactics of CGIL. Its attempt to depart so abruptly from patterns of the past appears as premature. Neither the Italian employers nor the workers are prepared for such radical innovation. The most sanguine prospect is that a combination of the old approach and the new might find fairly widespread acceptance. In regard to the new, the

need for extracting from management specific guarantees that the worker will benefit—as worker and not as consumer—from improvements in productivity is critical. And the worker must benefit not in the hazy future but as immediately as possible. The new leaders coming from Florence will do well to mix tradition with enlightenment, and reason with a healthy bit of dogmatism, in their negotiations with management and the government. Through a more realistic strategy the free unions of Italy might entertain the logical expectation that Communist-dominated labor will abandon CGIL and join the ranks of the democratic unions.

Cotton Capitalism and Slave Labor in Texas

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The Labor Thesis

THE ECONOMIC VALUE of slavery to the plantation economy of the ante bellum South has long been a subject of debate among students of the problem. The most persistent thesis underlying the development of the literature has been the "labor" thesis. Posed by its proponents as a logical and more scientific approach than the coeval moralism of the abolitionists and predicating every explanation of the economic value of slavery upon its narrow base, the labor thesis has proved to be just as limiting to the development of creative insights as the emotionalism it superseded. There can be little doubt that the institution of slavery offended the economic morality of the nineteenth century. The persistence of the labor thesis through interminable adaptations indicates that students of the problem have uncritically accepted the imputation, rejected in part by Northern contemporaries of the institution, that planter economics was motivated by the same perverted congenital anachronism as planter morality.

Practically every student of the problem feels the necessity of answering the question, "Was slave labor profitable?" The insistence upon a clear-cut answer in terms of dollars and cents does violence to the concepts of both economic value and economic use. Whether or not the "profits" question is ever definitively answered can be important only to those who value outcome over function. The Texas experience provides a partial but significant answer to the question. Investigation of planter capitalism in the long river counties of East Texas suggests that slavery also served the important function of providing both producer's and liquid capital in an economy where the value of land and the unpredictability of entrepreneurial skill made hazardous the risk of capital.¹ This conclusion justifies a reconsideration of the labor thesis and the conclusions that have been drawn therefrom.

¹ "Active" or "liquid" capital is defined as ready money or property readily converted into it. "Instrumental" or "producer's" capital is defined as wealth used to produce additional wealth.

There is some indication that planter capitalism had no difficulty in seeing the slave as both capital and a labor force and successfully combined the dual concept in the pursuit of profits.² Frederick Law Olmsted's objective survey led him to agree in the answering of two basic questions: "Is slave labor, then, profitable? To certain individuals, unquestionably. . . . Is not then this slave agriculture economically conducted? To the ends had in view by the planter it certainly is."

Olmsted reserved this opinion for the situation where there were large planters and fortuitous arrangements of the factors of land, tools, and entrepreneurial skill. However, he could conceive of no situation in the planter South where the cost of labor was not too high. To Olmsted, slavery impoverished and degraded by unnecessarily adding to the cost of making available the natural wealth, or the resources of the country, and by causing the wasteful use of natural wealth. Thus the labor thesis was launched.

What had started out with Olmsted as merely an operating factor, the effect of which upon the total economy was to be judged in the light of other clearly discernible functional variables, became for Phillips the central weakness of the entire regime.³ Phillips reluctantly conceded that "the economic virtues of slavery lay wholly in its making labor mobile, regular and secure." His malediction was unmistakable: "The slaveholding regime kept money scarce, population sparse and land values accordingly low; it restricted the opportunities of many men of both races, and it kept many of the natural resources of the Southern country neglected." Lest there be any doubt as to his position, Phillips said of slave-purchasing: "This proclivity for buying slaves was the worst feature of the regime from an economic point of view, for it drained capital out of every developing district and froze the local assets into one form of investment." Planter capitalism was peculiar indeed if it indulged a labor system so exorbitant in its total economic cost.

Frederic Bancroft's statement that "planters were proverbially impatient to mortgage their crops to buy more slaves to make more cotton to buy

² *A Journey in the Back Country in the Winter of 1853-54* (New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1907), Vol. II, pp. 50, 51, 52; William Sumner Jenkins, *Pro-Slavery Thought in the Old South* (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1935), pp. 295-96.

³ U. B. Phillips, *American Negro Slavery* (New York, D. Appleton & Company, Inc., 1929), pp. 394-95, 401; U. B. Phillips, *Life and Labor in the Old South* (Boston, Little, Brown & Company, 1949), p. 185. But before Phillips reached his position, the build-up to slavery as the central economic dilemma of planter capitalism was typified by A. H. Stone, "Cotton Factorage System of the Southern States," *American Historical Review*, Vol. XX, No. 3 (April, 1915), p. 563; E. M. Coulter, "A Century of a Georgia Plantation," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. XVI, No. 3 (December, 1929), p. 337. Stone's "land-slave-cotton" cycle was to receive permanent tenure in the literature. Coulter's statement that "plantations could not have arisen without slavery, and without forced labor they could not have continued long" was invaluable to the labor focus. There is remarkable similarity between the denunciation of Phillips and that of Hinton R. Helper. Cf. Hinton R. Helper, *The*

more slaves"⁴ has been used often by those who wished to demonstrate that planterism had an inner compulsion to madness or to an equally irrational vanity. Bancroft, however, extends the functional approach by asserting that slaves "were the chief security, the most salable and the major part of all agricultural property." He realized that slaves were commonly the best, and often the only available, security for debts or special needs, a security prized by slaveholders above stocks, bonds, and real estate. Although he limited the concept of function by his insistence upon the selling of slave property, Bancroft forced the holders of the labor thesis to reconsider their assumptions.

The occasional reminder that slaves had a functional use as capital was to force the holders of the labor thesis into theoretical accommodations. It would be difficult to discover a more curious union of dogmatism and moral unction than that revealed in their conclusions. Flanders faces the problem with this observation:⁵ "But slaves were not only capital; they were also labor, and herein lay the weak point of the whole system. Constant care was necessary to protect this capital. . . . Again the capital of the planter was stationary; large amounts were tied up in this form of property." Flanders saw the slaves not only as a frozen capital investment but also as an investment that was limited in value by what he considered the full productive or working years of the slave.⁶ While admitting the functional value of selling and hiring slaves, Flanders, after considering the slave as both capital and labor, concludes that "there is no doubt that slave labor was expensive."

Under the impact of further investigation, holders of the labor thesis had grudgingly to admit that planter capitalism was profitable. Kirkland, though cognizant of the impossibility of adequately gauging such factors as age, disease, and accidents, saw a profit in the higher price brought by the annual production of the slave than in the annual cost of producing and maintaining him.⁷ Kirkland, however, found this profit suspect because it was made

Impending Crisis of the South: How to Meet It (New York, A. B. Burdick, 1860), pp. 101-103.

⁴ Frederic Bancroft, *Slave Trading in the Old South* (Baltimore, J. H. Frust Company, 1931), pp. 67, 343-48, 407. Bancroft also saw the use of slave property as family gifts and as personal security for minors and other dependents.

⁵ Ralph Betts Flanders, *Plantation Slavery in Georgia* (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1933), pp. 187, 194, 211-18. The same pattern of thought is evident in Edwin A. Davis (ed.), *Plantation Life in the Florida Parishes of Louisiana, 1836-1845: As Reflected in the Diary of Bennet H. Barrow* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1939), p. 42; and Phillip S. Foner, *Business and Slavery: The New York Merchants and the Irrepressible Conflict* (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1941), p. 127.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 213. See above Phillips' idea of capital drain and frozen assets.

⁷ Edward C. Kirkland, *A History of American Economic Life* (New York, F. S. Crofts & Co., 1941), pp. 181-82. The Helper-Phillips investment attack is continued in Charles S. Sydnor, *The Development of Southern Sectionalism, 1819-1848* (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1948), p. 261; and John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom*

possible only by the speculative character of Southern agriculture. Kirkland's statement that "since so much capital was tied up in the labor force it was not available for other forms of investment" reveals that the heart of the labor thesis lies in an invidious comparison of the economy of the South with that of the North. This is evident when he asserts, despite the fact that much of the major investment capital of the North came from European money markets, that slavery "prevented the accumulations of savings and of funds for investment in the new enterprises of the nineteenth century."

When Gray introduced the concepts of "physical" and "value" surpluses, he opened the door to a creatively functional approach in ascertaining the value of slavery to planter capitalism.⁸ He pointed out that crop failure might cause the physical surplus to disappear for a while and that value surplus might likewise disappear because of price fluctuations. "Normally," Gray concludes, "there was both a physical and value surplus for the full lifetime of the slave, which was appropriable by reason of the institution of slavery." Other writers are essentially in agreement with Gray's conclusions, but few have shown the same disposition for functional judgments on the merits of the case.

The evolution and persistence within the critical literature on planter capitalism of the idea that since planter economics did not conform in its labor relations to the canons of the Manchester school it should be consigned to the demonry of American history, prompts the following questions:

1. Were public needs seriously hampered by the existence of slavery?
2. Did slavery freeze the capital of the planter or drain away the capital of the South and thus destroy opportunity for expression of the creative entrepreneurial impulse?
3. Can the labor-prestige-sale interpretation of investment in slaves be accepted as a satisfactory historical explanation?

(New York, Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1948), p. 191. Sydnor's remark that "a labor system required vast capital investment and left scarcely anything for founding banks or for other public needs" is typical of his position.

⁸ Lewis Cecil Gray, *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860* (New York, Peter Smith, 1941), p. 474 and *passim*; Robert Worthington Smith, "Was Slavery Unprofitable in the Ante-Bellum South?" *Agricultural History*, Vol. XX, No. 1 (January, 1946), pp. 62-64; Thomas P. Govan, "Was Plantation Slavery Profitable?" *Journal of Southern History*, Vol. VIII, No. 4 (November, 1942), pp. 513-35. After considerable attention to the docile and controlled consumption aspects of Negro labor and some emphasis upon investments and prices, Smith concludes that "an examination of the system from a strictly economic point of view, excluding political and humanitarian considerations, suggests, however, that slavery was operating in the South on an economically efficient basis." Govan thought it impossible to decide definitely the question of how profitable slavery was, for most of the evidence has been destroyed. He also found the argument of the superiority of free over slave labor an empty one, impossible of proof. He found it possible to prove, older scholarship to the contrary, that the planter was making money. A judicious definition of profits, the examination of plantation records, and the census reports of 1850 and 1860 led Govan to the conclusion that plantation slavery was profitable.

4. Are ledger-book approaches alone a reliable way to judge the economic efficiency of planter capitalism?

5. Is it historically sound to continue to judge the economic—or any other—aspect of the behavior of an institution out of the past by criteria not indigenous to its existence?

The Texas Experience

This investigation of the Texas experience is insufficient to provide definitive answers for the foregoing questions generally for the South or in all instances even for Texas. However, when all allowances are made for time and space factors in the Southwest which would affect the institution of slavery, it must be admitted that Texas offers an excellent laboratory for the study of the institution in most of its basic developmental stages. Men from every state in the Old South flocked into Texas to transplant along the great rivers the institution of slavery in all of its essentials.⁹

Were public needs seriously hampered by the existence of the institution of slavery? Old in the literature of American slavery, the affirmation of this question can be demonstrated only by clear proof of the inability to secure funds and services for public purposes and of the restriction of institutionalization necessary for common, day-to-day socioeconomic existence. A functional approach to the remains of the institution of slavery in Texas shows a flexibility and adaptability in institutionalization sufficient to meet the public needs of its socialization.

Properly considered, "public needs" is a broad concept, covering the collective needs of the community and the needs of individuals as they are related to the pattern of public order. Large planters in Texas showed an interest in developing such public facilities as roads, canals, ferries, and other media of transportation and communication.¹⁰ Although agents of banking firms and commission merchants out of the Northeast were centered in the market towns of Houston, Shreveport, Galveston, and New Orleans to furnish planters credit on the collateral of slaves and crops, banking facilities were also available in the county seats and crossroad hamlets throughout the planter domain.¹¹ Here the planter-merchant or the shrewd

⁹ This study examines the institution of slavery along the following rivers: Neches, Angelina, Brazos, Colorado, Sabine, and San Jacinto. The spot checks along these watercourses involved co-operative concentrated investigation in the courthouses and among the manuscripts of older families (now in the hands of their descendants) in the following counties: Cherokee, Montgomery, Falls, Brazos, Colorado, Wharton, Rusk, Harris, and Matagorda.

¹⁰ Matagorda County Court Minutes, A, p. 45; Hal Robbins, "Slavery in the Economy of Matagorda County, Texas" (master's thesis, Prairie View A. and M. College, 1952), p. 26.

¹¹ Falls County Deed Records, D, p. 142; Brazos County Probate Minutes, E, pp. 153–54; Cherokee County Deed Record, N, p. 605; Hattie Joplin Roach, *History of Cherokee*

administrator of skillfully managed large estates assumed the role of banker for small farmer and planter alike.

Slavery proved to be no barrier to the collection of taxes in Texas. Indeed, slaves, assessed along with other items of property, brought to the public till the highest rate of return.¹² So superior was the slave as an item of taxable wealth that it might well be asked what else save land could have been used in an agrarian society so universally as an adequate source for public funds had the institution not been in existence. Further, the institution of slavery developed adaptations of legal principles necessary to public order along economic lines. These adaptations were in keeping with those principles of property law current at the time and showed no radical departures from capitalistic practices.¹³

Slavery proved to be no barrier to the creation of towns. Although centers of credit and marketing remained at the mouths of the great rivers, planters in Texas gave freely of their great bounty of land for establishment of local centers of trade¹⁴ and the creation of county seats.¹⁵ Was there need for the founding and endowment of a school? Was there need for the establishment of a church for the spread of the faith? How better could these needs have been met in an agrarian economy than by the pledging of land by the planters from their own domains?¹⁶

The acceptance of the contributions of the institution of slavery to

County (Dallas, Southwest Press, 1934), pp. 32-33; Elmer G. Marshall, "History of Brazos County" (master's thesis, University of Texas, 1937), p. 66; Irene P. Hunter, "Slavery in the Economy of Cherokee County, Texas" (master's thesis, Prairie View A. and M. College, 1954), p. 37; Matagorda County Deed Record, I, p. 577; Council S. Moore, "Slavery in the Economy of Falls County" (master's thesis, Prairie View A. and M. College, 1954), pp. 45-46.

¹² Taxable property owned by Charles W. and Louisa Tait, January 1, 1863 (C. W. Tait mss. now in possession of Elbert Tait, Columbus, Texas); *Rusk Cherokeean*, October 11, 1935; *History of Falls County, Texas* (comp. Old Settlers and Veterans Association of Falls County, ed. Roy Eddins, 1947), p. 123. Complete tax records of the counties in ante bellum Texas are in the office of Robert S. Calvert, comptroller of Public Accounts, Austin, Texas. These records, along with the entire problem of "taxes and slavery," deserve a definitive study.

¹³ William M. McKinney, *Texas Jurisprudence*, Vol. 38 (San Francisco, Bancroft-Whitney Company, 1935), p. 591; William Mack and Donald J. Kiser, *Corpus Juris*, Vol. 58, §§ 1-2 (New York, American Law Book Company, 1932), p. 745, and *passim*.

¹⁴ Hal Robbins, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

¹⁵ Harvey Mitchell manuscripts (in possession of his granddaughter, Miss Wesa Weddington, Bryan, Texas); Brazos County Deed Records, Vol. B, p. 320; Hattie J. Roach, *op. cit.*, p. 33; Anna Davis Weisinger, *History of Montgomery County* (Conroe, Conroe Historicade, 1949), pp. 1-2; Willie R. G. Henry, "Slavery in the Economy of Brazos County, Texas" (master's thesis, Prairie View A. and M. College, 1954), p. 23; Gerald R. Farmer, *The Realm of Rusk County* (Henderson, *Henderson Times*, 1951), pp. 11-13.

¹⁶ Norma Shaw, "The Early History of Colorado County" (master's thesis, Southwest Texas State Teachers College, San Marcos, Texas, 1939), *passim*; Z. M. Morrell, *Fruits and Flowers from the Wilderness* (Boston, Gould and Lincoln, 1873), pp. 73-74; Hattie J. Roach, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

personal security is now a commonplace in the literature. Such private considerations as marriage and inheritance have a public significance much more profound than sentiment and prestige.¹⁷ Wealth in, and created by, slave labor was combined in marriage contracts.¹⁸ This type of property made feasible in an agrarian society separate property for women¹⁹ and provided a medium by which an equitable division of wealth might be made should such considerations as divorce²⁰ or inheritance arise.²¹ The demonstration of such functional versatility in so many areas of public need certainly allows the conclusion that the institution of slavery, given its socioeconomic environment, was sufficiently flexible and adaptable to meet the public needs of its socialization.

Did slavery freeze or drain away the capital of the South and thus destroy all opportunity for the expression of the creative entrepreneurial impulse? Students who have written in the Helper-Phillips tradition have made the affirmation of this one of the strongest points in their bitter indictment of the institution of slavery. After his examination of the institution, Olmsted said that "there are few enterprises to which capital lends itself more freely than to speculation in slaves, when the seeker for it is already a large cotton planter."²² The Texas experience gives ample grounds for this conclusion.

The emphasis upon economic outcome in preference to economic function has been responsible for the establishment of the fallacious concept of frozen and/or drained capital as the end results of the planters' investment in slave property. Funds could be "tied up" in slave property only if slaves were considered by students of the economics of the institution as "fixed" capital, the value of which began at their working maturity and the investment in which was recoverable principally through sale. Planter capitalism in Texas used slaves as "liquid" or "active" capital on the one hand, and "producer's" or "instrumental" capital on the other without the slightest confusion.

Planter capitalism was able to meet public needs because slaves could be used as both liquid and producer's capital. The Texas experience with the institution demonstrates that had slaves not served in both capital capacities it would have been difficult to establish and maintain organized economic existence. Stephen F. Austin informed prospective settlers that "no credit will be given for lands and nothing taken in payment but money or

¹⁷ See n. 3 above.

¹⁸ Matagorda County Deed Record, B, p. 437; Wharton County Probate Record, A, p. 34.

¹⁹ Cherokee County Deed Record, M, p. 513; Cherokee County Deed Record, E, pp. 129-30; Cherokee County Deed Record, G, p. 569.

²⁰ Cherokee County Deed Record, N, p. 354.

²¹ Colorado County Probate Record, D, p. 425; Cherokee County Probate Record, E, pp. 851-53.

²² Frederick Law Olmsted, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

Negroes" and the fee for taking possession of the land was payable "in cash or Spanish cattle, or Negroes."²³ Indeed, in the early stages of Austin's colonization scheme, settlers were offered eighty acres of land for every slave brought into the territory²⁴ under a proposed headright arrangement.

At most stages of the slave's life from birth to death, planters found it possible to mortgage him for moderate or large sums of money or credit to get supplies, merchandise, or other necessities to carry on the economics of plantation existence.²⁵ Slave labor created the crops of cotton, corn, and sugar and thus demonstrated its function as producer's capital. At the same time, then, that slave labor was being used as an instrument of production, that labor was also creating capital.²⁶ Useful as the slave proved to be at every significant stage of planter economics, it is difficult to understand how the notion became current that the slave became a frozen capital asset and a drain upon the capital resources of a region.

When the factors of the desire for fresh lands and the desire to escape antislavery agitations in the older regions of the United States have been taken into account, planterism in Texas still would have been unattractive if entrepreneurs had found economic opportunity stifled. Austin and his fellow impresarios first dreamed of men and plows in this virgin land,²⁷ and men from everywhere and every walk of life came to find this land of planter's good. Judge Goldwait came from Alabama with one hundred slaves to open two prosperous plantations in Montgomery county.²⁸ Another was Colonel Jared E. Groce, a Virginian, who, after operating large plantations in South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama, brought his one hundred slaves to the Brazos River, where he received more than forty thousand acres of land because he owned "near 100 slaves and may be useful . . . on account of the property he brought with him."²⁹

²³ Eugene C. Barker (ed.), *The Austin Papers, Annual Report of the American Historical Association* (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1924), Vol. I, p. 705.

²⁴ George P. Garrison, *Texas* (Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1903), p. 143.

²⁵ Matagorda County Deed Record, G, p. 37; Matagorda County Deed Record, I, p. 577; Colorado County Bond and Mortgage Record, C, No. 1304; Colorado County Bond and Mortgage Record, D, pp. 26, 31, 239; Lillie E. Atkinson, "Slavery in the Economy of Colorado County, 1822-1863" (master's thesis, Prairie View A. and M. College, 1954), *passim*.

²⁶ William Kennedy, *Texas* (Fort Worth, The Molyneux Craftsmen, Inc., 1925), p. 354.

²⁷ Clarence R. Wharton, *The Republic of Texas* (Houston, C. C. Young Printing Company, 1922), p. 33.

²⁸ The Addison mss. (in possession of Hart Addison, Conroe, Texas).

²⁹ Lester G. Bugbee, "Slavery in Early Texas," *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. XIII, Nos. 3 and 4 (September-December, 1898), p. 622. Other outstanding planters who could be included in a random listing for the area covered by this study are Lawrence Augustine Washington (see Mrs. Walter G. Dick, "A Brief Account of the Life of Dr. Lawrence Augustine Washington," *Eagle Lake Headlight*, March 7, 1941); Julien Devereux (see the Devereux mss. in possession of O. Douglas Weeks, Austin, Texas); Robert Millican (see Worth S. Ray, *Austin Colony Pioneers* [Austin, Texas, 1949], p. 168); Asa Hoxey (see

Entrepreneurial opportunity was not limited to the establishment of great plantations. John Richardson Harris could claim above four thousand acres at the junction of Bray's and Buffalo bayous, lay out a town which became an important depot for supplies, build a steam sawmill, and own large stocks of merchandise and ships.³⁰ The Allen brothers were to come from New York state and lay the foundation for Houston. William Roark came from Tennessee to be a surveyor for impresarios, pick up a partnership in the Mount Sterling firm of Durst Mitchell and Company, and be a prominent citizen in Cherokee County until his death in 1862.

The greatness of planter wealth naturally opened avenues of opportunity beyond the mere accumulation of wealth. There is certainly no better example of this than the accomplishments of George Whitfield Terrell, founder of the Cherokee County branch of the Terrell family and one of the most distinguished citizens of the Texas Republic. This Kentucky-born lawyer, son of one of Andrew Jackson's favorite officers, followed the path of opportunity into Texas. The first district judge in east Texas, attorney general in President Houston's cabinet, Indian commissioner, and special minister to England, France, and Spain for the purpose of securing recognition for the Republic of Texas, Terrell exemplifies the prestige and the largess of opportunity which planterism offered.³¹

Can the labor-prestige-sale interpretation of the investment in slaves be accepted as a definitive historical explanation? It cannot be when the institution of slavery is examined functionally. The defect of the "labor" answer lies in its attempt to disassociate the instrument from the product and treat only an isolated application of power. The basic defect of the "prestige" emphasis is the imputation that planter capitalism had a streak of irrational acquisitiveness which a functional approach to the institution shows to be incompatible with the facts. A large number of slaves meant a great fund of producer's and liquid capital. Overemphasis upon "sale" in the literature reflects in many instances both misunderstanding of the instruments developed for the handling of this item of wealth and a tendency to overvalue this type of business paper.³²

John Henry Brown, *Indian Wars and Pioneers of Texas* [Austin, L. E. Darnell Publishers, 1928], p. 168; John Marlin (see *Falls County Record* [Centennial Edition], October 6, 1950); B. J. Shields, Churchill Jones, and John A. Fortune (see C. Moore, *op. cit.*, p. 21 and *passim*); Bailly Hardeman (see *Matagorda County Tribune*, August 23, 1945). For sugar planters Abram Sheppard, E. Rugley, and James B. Hawkins, the latter owning one of the largest sugar mills in Texas, see Hal Robbins, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-26.

³⁰ Adele B. Looscan, "Harris County," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XVI, No. 1 (March, 1915), pp. 203-204.

³¹ Hattie J. Roach, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

³² Students of this problem can profitably pay more attention to those portions of the legal record dealing with "relinquishments," "promissory" notes, "inventory," and administrator or executor action in probate.

A major difficulty in interpretation has been the tendency to simply equate "economic efficiency" with an illusive dollars-and-cents profit. Such an approach to planter capitalism is deceptively elementary because it defies all attempts at adequate documentation and delineation and is unnecessary to a critical understanding of the institution. Instead of asking how much money the planter-capitalist made, the basic question should be whether planter capitalism, grounded upon the institution of slavery, facilitated and successfully supported an orderly pattern of economic existence—in other words, whether wealth could be produced and exchanged creatively. When functionally approached, the Texas experience answers these questions in the affirmative.

The Requirements of Technology on Capital Formation

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IS IT TOO BOLD to say outright what Alvin Hansen has been implying for some time, namely, that technology imposes requirements upon the capital-formation process that cannot be ignored? It is the purpose of this paper to arrive at a statement of these requirements and to examine their significance.

Hansen's Implications

It is his wide and constant use of the terms "capital saving," "capital using," "deepening of capital," and "widening of capital" that implies that requirements are imposed by technology. Here is one of his passages containing the significant definitions (which came from Hawtrey):

A growth in real investment may take the form either of a deepening of capital or of a widening of capital, as Hawtrey has aptly put it. The deepening process means that more capital is used per unit of output, while the widening process means that capital formation grows *pari passu* with the increase in the output of final goods. If the ratio of real capital to real income remains constant, there is no deepening of capital; but if this ratio is constant and real income rises, then there is a widening of capital.¹

If inventions and innovations are capital-using, deepening of capital results; if they are capital-solving, the opposite of deepening results. If they are neutral and real income arises, widening of capital results.

Whether inventions and innovations are capital-using, neutral, or capital-saving is to say the least very much a matter of technology. According to Hansen, "... deepening of capital results partly from cost-reducing changes in technique, partly (though this is probably a much less significant factor) from a reduction in the rate of interest, and partly from changes in the character of the output as a whole, with special reference to the amount of

¹ "Economic Progress and Declining Population Growth," *American Economic Review*, March, 1939, pp. 5-6. See also *Full Recovery or Stagnation* (New York, W. W. Norton, 1938), pp. 314 ff., and *Fiscal Policy and Business Cycles* (New York, W. W. Norton, 1941), pp. 354 ff.

capital required to produce it."² Besides his third "partly," which is vague, at best, Hansen emphasizes that technique plays a major role in determining the capital-output ratio and the related investment-output ratio.

In another publication, Hansen comes definitely to the point: "Changes in technique besides calling forth new investment are also likely to change the marginal capital coefficient (the ratio of added capital to added output). The new capital goods, which give corporeal shape to the new techniques, account for the increase in physical output."³ To say this, Hansen must postulate full employment of capital goods over a long-run period, or continued operation at capacity output. This postulation may or may not be realistic, but it seems apparent that Hansen is pointing to important phenomena—requirements of technology itself—to which "endogenous variables" must adjust if capacity output is to be attained and maintained. We shall examine the meaning and significance of these implications.

Meaning of Technology

The implications in Hansen's writing lead us to inquire into the meaning of technology. Economics has been assuming constant technology with perhaps very little knowledge of what technology is.

It is not easy to define, to say the least. The more thought given to the concept, the broader the concept becomes. Veblen's phrase "state of industrial arts" indicates the breadth. C. E. Ayres tells us that technology is an aspect of the behavior of man, and he goes into considerable detail in characterizing that aspect.⁴ For him, it is particularly important for us to realize that technology not only relates persons and things but also, through "scientific logic" or "operational logic," relates persons and persons. To understand technology, then, it is important to consider how it relates things and persons. Through its relationships of persons and things, it further relates things and things and/or persons and persons. Let us examine some of these relationships.

Technology is not just a tool or a gadget. Without someone to make the tool operate and to keep it operating by replacing it, it is nothing but an odd-shaped thing. Nor is technology just a man with know-how. Such a man may be most remote from the raw materials that go into producing the tool or completely away from the production process that produces it. A book may contain the details of the know-how, but it still takes a process of production to produce the implement. This seems clearly to lead to the

² *Fiscal Policy and Business Cycles*, p. 357.

³ "Toward a Dynamic Theory of the Cycle," *American Economic Review*, May, 1952, pp. 79-80.

⁴ *The Industrial Economy, Its Technological Basis and Institutional Destiny* (Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1952), pp. 51 ff.

position that technology lies in the relationship between the man with the know-how and the tool. This relationship is complex, involving other things and persons.

What are some of the specific aspects of this relationship? We should try to view them in an operating production setting. The setting is a production process, with man-hours of labor being combined with raw materials through a technique of production. The final results are consumer goods. The process of production, simply stated, involves the production of tool X plus the use of tool X to produce consumer goods. In this elementary picture, attention is called to two obvious relationships:

1) For a given technique, a certain number of man-hours is needed to produce tool X from raw materials.

2) Tool X, used in connection with a given technique, has a definite "lifetime" or is capable of producing a given amount of consumer goods. These two relationships hold in a rather basic sense. One can call to mind other things that have some bearing, such as care of the machine, the pace of work by labor whenever the machine and the technique involved afford variations in this pace, and the deterioration of the machine from non-use. But such considerations as these are either comparatively unimportant or are bound up with the "given technique" for most machine processes.

If the two relationships above hold and if tool X is to be used to full capacity and constantly replaced, then the number of man-hours required to produce tool X compared to the number of man-hours required to wear it out in producing consumer goods is established by the nature of the technique.⁵ Thus we start with relationships between man and goods and end with a relationship between man (producing producer's goods) and man (producing consumer's goods). This is a good example of what Ayres means when he says that technology is not only a matter of relationship between man and goods but is also a matter of relationship between man and man.

Assuming that the argument is correct so far, we proceed first by assigning specific symbols, as follows:

I_t = labor units⁶ required to produce any producer goods or combination of producer goods, X.

C_t = labor units required to wear out producer good(s), X, in producing consumer goods equivalent to C_t in value.

⁵ Economics of scale are treated here just as Keynes treats it (*General Theory*, pp. 41 ff.). Furthermore, it is the writer's conviction that interest cost and management cost, in so far as these are not matters of technique, are rapidly losing ground to technological change as significant variables in the cost area. Technology is described as "given" in this paper in order to describe how important it is in establishing limits or "guides" for many "endogenous" variables.

⁶ "Labor unit" is defined as Keynes defines it in his *General Theory*, p. 41.

C_m = maximum consumer goods that can be produced during any period T , with the given technology and accepted length of work week.

t = labor units available in the population during any period T , with the accepted length of work week.

From the two already mentioned relationships established by the technique, I_t/C_t is established by the given technology. Let this ratio be designated by k .

Thus

$$k = I_t/C_t. \quad (1)$$

To produce C_t units of consumer goods requires the use of $C_t + I_t$ units of labor output. During period T , the number of C_t 's required to equal C_m is then $\frac{t}{I_t + C_t}$.

Thus

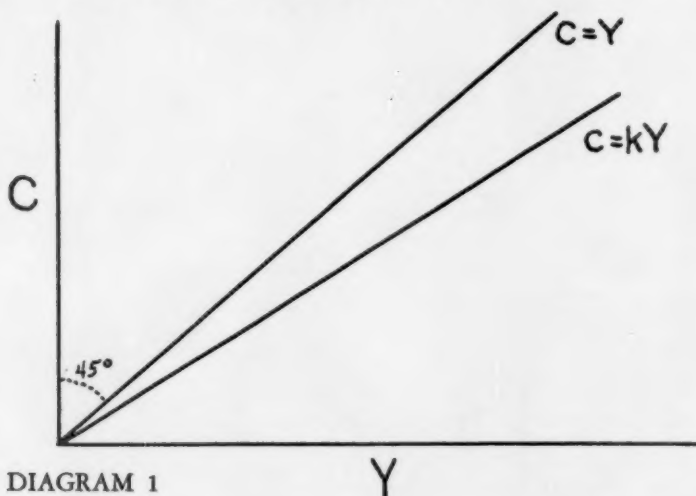
$$C_m = C_t \left(\frac{t}{I_t + C_t} \right) \quad (2)$$

Since

$$I_t = C_t k \text{ [from (1)]}, C_m = \frac{C_t t}{C_t (k + 1)} = \frac{t}{k + 1} \quad (3)$$

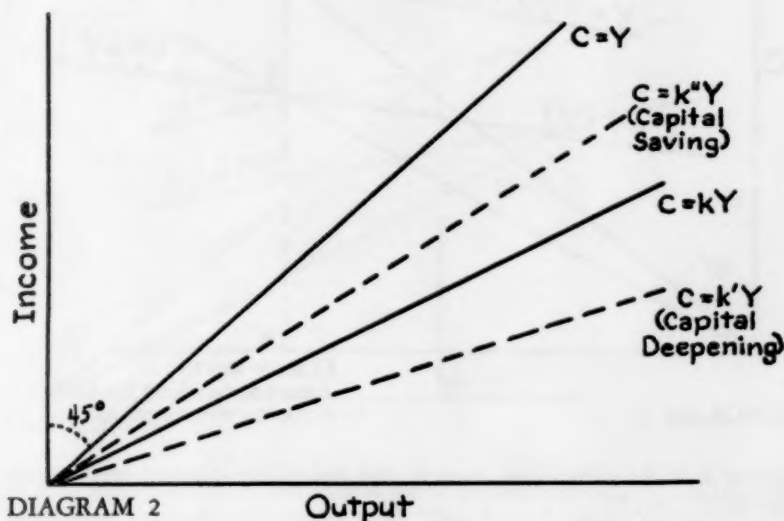
C_m is thus determined by t (population expressed in labor units) and k (requirements of technology).

Another approach to this is perhaps simpler. Broadening C_t and I_t to full-scale production of all goods, $C_t + I_t = t$ during T . Still $k = C_t/I_t$. These two equations establish C_t and I_t in terms of t and k .



All of this is capacity phenomena. That is, if *capacity* production—taken to mean full employment of man power and producer's goods—is to exist, then the division of effort between production of producer's goods and production of consumer's goods is established by the technology employed. This, together with population size, establishes capacity I (gross) and C for any period long enough to require replacement production and to enable growth.

Since producer's goods are used not only to produce consumer's goods but also to produce other producer's goods, the division of effort between C



and I which is the most meaningful in reality is a division between effort-making tools (machines, etc.) and effort-using tools. This is the division on which technology imposes its requirements. This poses no added difficulties, however. C goods result from use of I goods, and I goods result from use of I goods. Technology still defines a relationship between all effort prior to the stage of producing C goods and the effort actually producing those goods.

The technology-imposed relationship between I_t and C_t might be $\frac{1}{9}$, or, in a functional relationship between C and Y , $C = .9Y$.⁷ This relationship gives us another line ($C = kY$) besides the $C = Y$ line to place on the

⁷ This relationship need not be linear as it is pictured. If economies of scale were taken into account, it possibly would be nonlinear.

conventional national-income diagram (see Diagram 1). Like the $C = Y$ line, this capital-requirement line imposed by the nature of technology used does not determine C , I , or Y . It is a requirement imposed by reality. The $C = Y$ line reflects the requirement that income equals output; the capital-requirement line reflects a similar requirement if long-run capacity

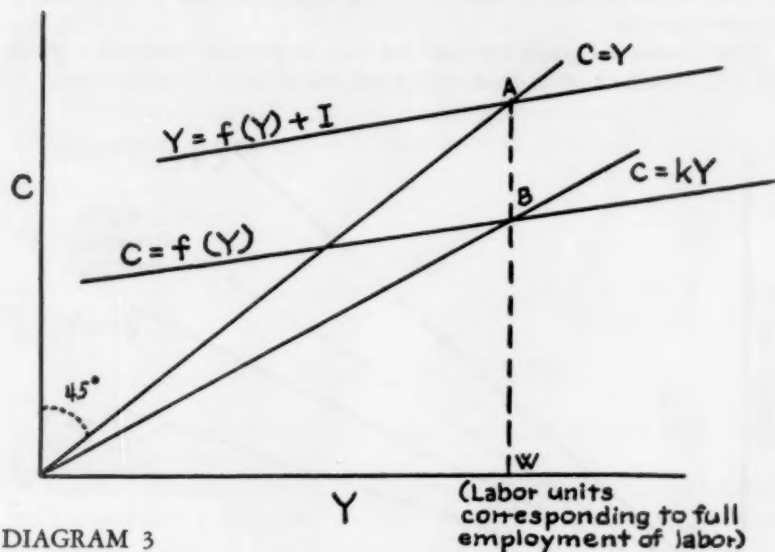


DIAGRAM 3

output is to be maintained, namely, the technology-imposed relationship between C_t and I_t .

The relationship exhibited by this line is what has been implied in Hansen's work. "Capital deepening" means that I_t/C_t is increasing, or that the line is pivoting downward about the axis as shown in Diagram 2. "Capital saving" means the reverse (see Diagram 2). "Capital widening" means that the line does not shift as income and output grow.

Significance

Assuming that the foregoing is correct, what is its significance? It has an important bearing on employment and income analysis and on growth theory.

Income and employment analysis has suffered from ambiguity concerning just how the full-employment concept refers both to labor and to capital goods. The technology-imposed requirement, I_t/C_t , provides a clearer concept of long-run full employment of capital goods. Diagram 3 shows the

conditions essential for long-run full employment of both labor and capital goods, given a technique which determines the function $C = kY$. These conditions are:

1) The usual intersection (point A) of the $C = Y$ line with the function, $Y = f(Y) + I$, at the point which provides full employment of labor (point W).

2) The intersection of the $C = kY$ line with the consumption function ($C = f(Y)$) at point B be such that the vertical line, AW, pass through B.

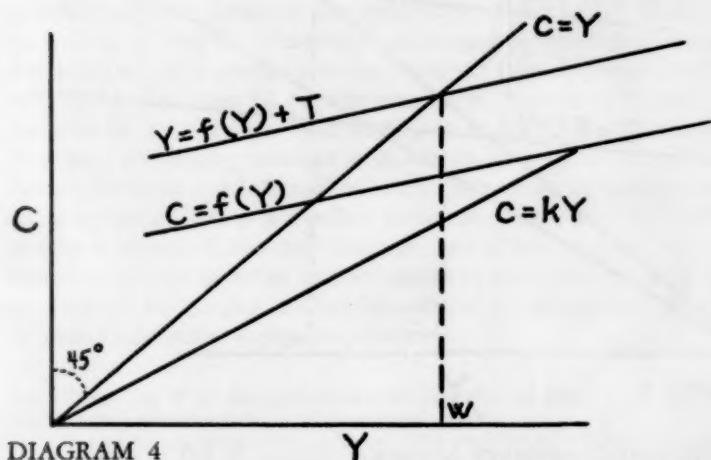


DIAGRAM 4

This second condition means that the actual relationship, I/C , equals the technology-imposed relationship, I_t/C_t . Thus I and S , together with the consumption function, are adjusted to the requirements imposed by technology which permit steady, constant full usage of producer's goods.

To demonstrate this proposition, let us suppose conditions contrary to those stated in Condition 1 above and then show how those contrary conditions fail to provide for maintainable full usage of capital goods. In all cases, Condition 1 is shown as being fulfilled to start with, simply because our focus is on Condition 2.

Suppose (Diagram 4) that $I/C < I_t/C_t$. The insufficient output of, and income from, I goods, together with an excess output of, and income from, C goods, bring about a depletion of inventories, pressure for price increases among all goods, and a stimulation of I , leading to overfull employment of labor if possible. Inflationary pressures exist even though Y rests at a full-employment level.

Suppose (Diagram 5) that $I/C > I_t/C_t$. The insufficient output of, and

income from, C goods, together with an excess output of, and income from, I goods, bring about an overstock of C goods, pressure for price decreases among all goods, and probably curtailment of I , leading to less than full employment of labor. Deflationary pressure exists even though Y rests again at a full-employment level.

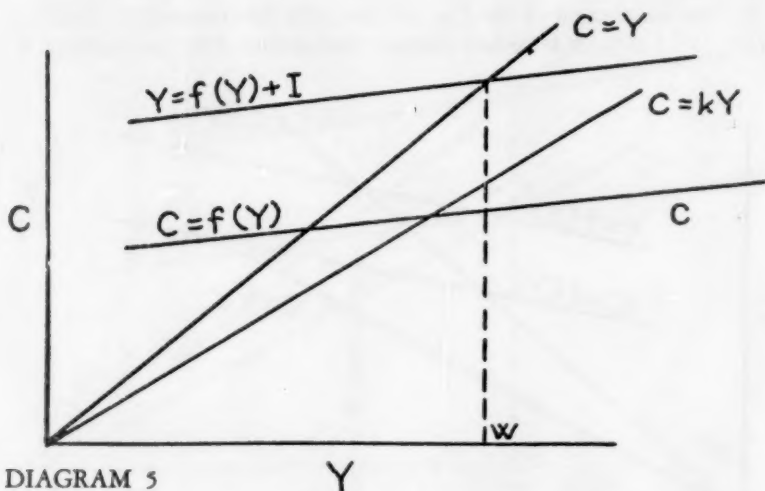


DIAGRAM 5

The Keynesian equilibrium (income = output) is left in need of another support, namely, our Condition 2. The cases above serve to show that if $Y = O$ at any point— W or other—income and output will change until $I/C = I_t/C_t$.

These examples serve to open up a need for further analysis concerning income and employment, an analysis both possible and urgent, provided the $C = kY$ line actually exists as a real pressure.

Growth theory seems to have suffered to date from the lack of orientation to a system of analysis other than the long-run propensity to save, Harrod's "s."⁸ The technology-imposed requirement, $C = kY$, suggests an orientation to the analysis of technological advance as a prerequisite for growth theory. Failure to note the requirements of technology results in the suggesting of impossible independent variables. Both Harrod and Domar treat maximum growth-in-output fractions (any of Harrod's "G's" and Domar's σ) as if they are independent of capital-coefficient variables.⁹

⁸ Compare L. B. Yeager, "Some Questions about Growth Economics," *American Economic Review*, March, 1954, p. 62.

⁹ For Harrod's theory see *Towards A Dynamic Economics* (London, Macmillan & Co.

The technology-requirement approach suggests the reverse. Here, technology and population determine the possible maintainable rate of capital formation and, through these, both growth variables and capital coefficient variables. For a given technique, there exists a capital coefficient, consistent with capacity growth. Since technology appears to control the most significant variables in the maximum-growth picture, its march appears to be a necessary path of orientation for growth theory.

Just one more comment. To many, it may seem impossible for any economy to attempt to adjust its pecuniary habits to the real requirements imposed by real considerations. I suggest that it might not be as difficult as we may think. In fact, the whole emphasis on gearing spending to the needs of the economy, an emphasis that has stemmed from Keynesian theory, is a step in this direction. To me, the concept of "functional finance" as propounded by A. P. Lerner¹⁰—if studied in its full meaning, including the pragmatic philosophy inherent in it—serves as a guide for adjusting pecuniary habits to real habits. Within this framework, as Lerner refers to it, spending-saving habits are rather easily adjustable to I_t/C_t . Whenever finance in general is liberated from the ideas of balanced budgets, and true monetary savings as either distinct means or ends, any economy is on its way toward recognizing the requirements of technology and the need for pecuniary adjustment to these requirements.

Ltd., 1951). One of the best presentations by Domar of his theory is in "Expansion and Employment," *American Economic Review*, March, 1947.

¹⁰ One of the best presentations by Lerner of the whole idea of functional finance is in his *Economics of Employment* (New York, McGraw-Hill, 1951). It is a mistake to try to get the full significance of this concept from any one chapter in this book.

Comment and Reply on Goethe's Social Philosophy as Revealed in "Campagne in Frankreich" and "Belagerung von Mainz"

Author's Comment

I should like to draw attention to certain inaccuracies of the review of my *Goethe's Social Philosophy as Revealed in "Campagne in Frankreich" and "Belagerung von Mainz"* in the December, 1955, number of your journal (p. 314).

The reviewer has stated first that in the abortive Austro-Prussian attempt of 1792 to invade France and end the Revolution, the troops were enthusiastic. This is true of the Prussians in the earliest days of the campaign, but their attitude soon changed to one of dismay, doubt, and despair. Of the 42,000 Prussian effectives to enter France, 10,000 effectives and 20,000 sick emerged, leaving 12,000 killed or missing. This occurred after a campaign of only two months, in which the largest action, Valmy, claimed 184 Prussians killed and wounded (see *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. VIII, p. 408). Hence the reviewer's statement as it stands is, at best, misleading.

Secondly he says that the troops were "well led." Any standard historical reference work will show the contrary (see *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. VIII, pp. 406-12). Goethe specifically drew attention to the tragically divided command (see, for instance, *Campagne in Frankreich*, Jubiläumsausgabe, Vol. 28, p. 17, ll. 7-13). Furthermore, I devoted a subdivision in each of two chapters to the inadequacies of the allied command because both of Goethe's works deal, in their military portions, with the failings of the command.

The reviewer claims that I "grossly misinterpreted" the German sentence quoted. Actually it turns on one letter—should the first letter of the final word begin with a *b* or a *g*? It is a simple matter to demonstrate, but too lengthy. What is important is that the reviewer's version falls out of context. Anyone can test the matter by applying, in the light of the entire passage, first the reviewer's and then my interpretation of the challenged sentence. Goethe here was describing the French declaration of war against Austria. If the sentence, as I and the authoritative *Weimar Ausgabe* claim,

does not concern Prussia's entry on the Austrian side, then with what power was Austria allied, as in his words "... on the allies' side . . ."? More important is the wider context. The reviewer writes: "[the line] . . . undoubtedly means that in contrast to the disunited French command the campaign on the allies' side was conducted in harmony." This is essentially the same error noted above. Thus the reviewer advances an interpretation that is opposed to that of history, as well as to one of the central themes of Goethe's *Campaign and Siege*.

His objection to my use of the word "*Volkheit*" is hardly justified, for Goethe was the first to propose the usage I employed. That the word does not occur in the *Campaign and Siege* is hardly surprising, for Goethe first advanced the proposed new term in a work (*Wanderjahre*) that was not published until seven years *after* the two I dealt with.

Finally, the reviewer finds my result "not a pleasant one." Is this to the point? A reviewer should feel obligated to give his readers an accurate and complete evaluation of the work under review, not a personal reaction. He omits mentioning some of the major contributions that I believe I made, namely: (a) that Goethe knowingly "slanted" and even falsified facts in order to strengthen his literary purposes—for instance, the Igel Monument and the Jacobi visit; (b) that Goethe betrays his feelings by his personal reactions, for instance the Jacobi visit, Plessing, Gallitzins, Reineke Fuchs, and, most significant, the disagreement with Schlosser; (c) that Goethe's observation of society morphologically, as family, both *Urform* and *Metamorphose* (archetype and metamorphosis thereof), is a logical and necessary extension of his scientific thinking; (d) that inasmuch as Goethe observed society from a morphological—that is, scientific—point of view, he deserves credit as a forerunner of modern social science; (e) that the *Campaign and Siege*, viewed together from this point, reveal a deeply significant and, in view of the traditional scholarship, surprisingly new personal statement of Goethe's on the great events of his era.

A. G. Steer, Jr.
Harpur College

Reviewer's Reply

Mr. Steer's main objections show that he misunderstood my review. I never referred to the actual historical events; I clearly limited myself to Goethe's presentation of them. Here I criticized the fact that Mr. Steer saw fit to omit all those passages that give a favorable impression of the allied side, such as: "The high spirit among the allies . . ." (*Weimar Ausgabe*,

pp. 33, 18) or "... our side well led ..." (*ibid.*, pp. 33, 19). His emendation of Goethe's sentence "*Der Krieg war diesseits geschlossen*" to mean "one decided for war North of the Main river" betrays the same tendency. Even if one should assume that Mr. Steer is right in this one instance—and from the context and Goethe's general usage that seems impossible to me—there is enough evidence to prevent us from pressing Goethe's two works into the narrow frame of a Victorian idealism. It is true that Goethe used the word "*Volkheit*" in a later work. But I cannot see that we can now simply apply this expression, so ambiguous in our day, to the two works in question and that in such a nauseating overdose.

Wolfgang F. Michael
University of Texas

Book Reviews

Edited by

H. MALCOLM MACDONALD

LEOPOLD H. HAIMSON: *The Russian Marxists and the Origins of Bolshevism*. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1955. 246 pages. \$5.50.

Since 1917 there has hardly been a more popular pastime than that of explaining the Russians. Every journalist worth his salt has written at least one book on it, every refugee has written at least two, and any tourist to the Soviet Union can dine out for months on his obiter dicta on the Great Enigma. The Russian Research Center at Harvard has, by contrast, turned out some very good studies, and Haimson's book is one of them. With so much reliable information available, Churchill's reference to the "riddle" is quite unjustified today, if indeed it ever was.

How much of Soviet behavior and policy is Russian, and how much is due to Marxist ideology? Writers like Berdyaev have emphasized the purely Russian features, and quite rightly, whereas Haimson sets himself to the equally necessary task of shedding light on the Marxist side of the picture. He does this by showing the origin of Marxism among the Russian intelligentsia of the last century, and its growth up to about 1905, by which time Lenin and his Bolsheviks had put their indelible stamp on the movement.

The book is essentially the story of

how the Russian intelligentsia, or a large section of them, frustrated and alienated in an autocratic society, reacted to their environment. At first, when the world around them seemed beyond any prospect of reform or drastic change, they turned to the consolations of metaphysics. When this phase passed, in the 1850's and 1860's, they "went to the people" to point them the way to social salvation. The result of this socialist Populism was a total failure. It was a chastening experience, though not an unusual one, for would-be saviors to be rejected by the very Jerusalem they had come to save. Then they took to terrorism, and finally to Marxism. Whatever may be said of intellectuals in a later age, the Russian "clerics" never identified themselves with the popular or official values of their society. Not even Julien Benda could accuse them of betraying their ideals.

The men whose ideas and personalities dominate the book are Akselrod, Plekhanov, Martov, and Lenin. There is very little (perhaps too little?) on Trotsky. Some of them were Populists before graduating to Marxism, which by the 1890's had swept them off their feet. The great controversies—and they were many, bitter, and subtle—revolved around the question of the respective roles to be played in the his-

torical process of making a revolution by the alleged historical laws, and by human action and leadership.

The book contains more on Lenin than on the others, and properly so, since he imposed order on the chaos, both in theory and in organization, and later came to dominate the Russian Social Democrats. In any case, it was his vision of the party and the revolution which shaped the Bolshevik policy during 1917 and later. The author has written a long and very enlightening section on the Bolshevik-Menshevik controversy. Altogether it is a most useful piece of research, a helpful and high-level interpretative essay on the early Russian Marxists. The book is excellent background in its foreshadowing of many of the later disputes which rendered the Russian Marxist leadership before, during, and after the Bolshevik Revolution.

H. B. Mayo
Vancouver, B.C.

ARTHUR W. THOMPSON (ed.): *Gateway to the Social Sciences*. New York, Henry Holt and Company, Inc., 1955. 374 pages. \$2.90.

This volume brings together a large number of selected readings written by many authors. Using a work of this sort in a survey course in the social sciences possesses many advantages and some demerits. In this volume the advantages appear to be, for the most part, the excellent selection of topics and the great stature of most of the authors. It should serve admirably in some of the several general patterns employed in those schools that conduct introductory courses in the social sciences, and in all schools as a very valuable reference.

Gateway to the Social Sciences begins by observing the nature of the social sciences and then moves into a study of culture, with emphasis on diversity, similarity, stability, and change. The next three divisions are devoted to an examination of economic institutions, especially as to their characteristics in the various stages of economy and of modern economic life, emphasizing capitalism as our basic system of economy; social institutions, with great concern for social classes, agriculture, industry, the family, and populations in our social milieu; political institutions, giving most attention to the nature of the state and the role of government in its various forms and concluding with special reference to democracy (the American brand) and the over-all ideology of democracy.

Part VI makes a rather successful attempt to integrate government and business enterprise, with the concept of centralization as the basis of approach. In the next part, institutional change is observed in process, liberty and democracy getting the spotlight in this transition. Part VIII is designed to relate the individual to institutional life and it employs the study of social psychology and the personality make-up of the individual as media to this relationship.

The next division is basically a study of international relations, with emphasis on nationalism, the world community, our foreign policy—past and present—and concludes with some able observations on present world conditions. The last part examines the importance of history in a comprehensive study of the social sciences.

Frank W. Girlinghouse
Louisiana State University

- EDWIN A. COTTRELL and HELEN L. JONES: *The Metropolis: Is Integration Possible?* Los Angeles, The Haynes Foundation, 1955. 120 pages. Cloth, \$2.50; paper, \$2.00.
- FRED K. VIGMAN: *Crisis of the Cities*. Washington, Public Affairs Press, 1955. 155 Pages. \$3.25.

These two books deal quite differently with the fundamental problems of local government. *The Metropolis* is the last in a series of studies begun by the late E. A. Cottrell and now completed by Helen Jones, his research assistant. It shows how the various local governments work together in Los Angeles, our most diversified and decentralized metropolitan area. It summarizes the integration which has been developed for each of the major functions of local government and presents a long-range plan for the future, though pointing out that further basic integration is not likely in the near future. The authors believe that further annexation to the city of Los Angeles is inadvisable: "The central city has reached the limits of prudent geographical expansion." Miss Jones concludes that some form of metropolitan municipalized home rule is now more necessary than ever before, but she is not hopeful that this will be accomplished until the indifference of the public has been overcome. This book, though brief, is filled with specific examples of metropolitan activities and provides the student with an understanding of the problems and progress in this one community.

Crisis of the Cities is said to be an "incisive and revealing contribution to the sociology of American urbanism." The author covers the three principal

elements of urban decline: municipal bankruptcy, lack of civic virtue, and urban deterioration and exodus. He ends by examining the present plight of a group of American cities. The chief object of the book is to arouse citizens to the crisis, though its tone indicates that this effort would be futile: "The older cities . . . have come to their dead-end." "The sense of impending doom . . . have [*sic*] driven city officials into a frenzied quest for a quick solution to head off the day of judgment." "The large American cities . . . are in the transition stage to factory towns."

The book is hardly a careful analysis. There are many quotations, from a variety of sources and often unidentified, which serve only to alarm the reader further. The best chapter—on city planning—reaches no conclusion. Though municipal reform is held to be essential, little is said of previous successes and, for the future, there is little hope and no plan. It is not enough to know that the present situation is serious.

Donald G. Bishop
Syracuse University

- RUPERT EMERSON: *Representative Government in Southeast Asia*. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1955. 197 pages. \$3.50.

Emerson writes in a tentative and rather pessimistic vein. In some circumstances such an approach would be annoying, but in this case it seems appropriate, for who can say yet with any certainty that representative government has a strong foothold in the new nations of Southeast Asia, or that con-

ditions exist there—or can be created—to support popular, democratic governments?

There is in Southeast Asia little tradition of self-rule or appreciation of the role of a "loyal opposition," obvious and great economic differences divide communities, governments are under strong pressure to produce though resources available to governments are limited, economies depend upon fluctuating world markets, an educated middle class—to act as a buffer between extremes and to provide bureaucrats and technicians—exists only in embryo, political extremists of various colors find interested listeners and some eager followers, and external pressures and rivalries generate additional difficulties.

It is with the delicate institutions of representative government, in the light of such weaknesses and problems, that Emerson deals. The book is excellently written but disappointingly brief, a useful introduction to the region but lacking the detail one would like to find in a really comparative study. A splendid introductory essay is followed by chapters on Indonesia, Burma, Malaya, and the Philippines (by Willard H. Elsabee); Thailand and Indochina are treated jointly as potential representative governments, and Virginia Thompson contributes a chapter on rural and local government in the region. Each chapter provides a short summary of recent political developments, a sketchy description of governmental organization, and some treatment of problems and policies in the specific country under discussion.

The book leaves the general impression that Emerson believes these new nations *may* pull off this great experiment, that they *may* make a successful

transition to self-rule and democracy, but if they do—overcoming very immediate and great obstacles—the ultimate forms of government may differ from those commonly associated with Western democracy. For democracy ". . . is by no means only a type of political structure. Far more significantly it is a state of mind and a basic social pattern . . ." and the success of a government depends more upon what its citizens think about it than upon its resemblance to preconceived models.

James R. Roach
University of Texas

FRANCIS O. WILCOX and CARL M. MARCY: *Proposals for Changes in the United Nations*. Washington, The Brookings Institution, 1955. 537 pages. \$5.00.

This volume, one of seven in the Brookings Institution United Nations Series, describes and analyzes the implications of almost every conceivable modification of the United Nations. Though heavily weighted by proposals of American officials and private citizens and groups, it is not confined to these. Many of the changes could be made either by interpretation or expansion of existing provisions, without amending the Charter.

Its value is greatly enhanced by the consideration of each possible change in the light of the present organization and its nine years of experience, as well as of the political circumstances of the era. In some instances, for example, the regulation of armaments, the background seems unnecessarily long for the purpose at hand. The style is characterized by the

sobriety one expects from Brookings. Documentation is ample, but the use of "*loc. cit.*" is irritatingly inconvenient. Each proposal is treated fairly, though one feels that the politically wise authors incline to a moderate evolutionary approach.

A few apparent inconsistencies mar the book, such as the statement on page 374 that parties to a dispute "need not resort to the International Court unless they choose to do so," even if they have accepted the optional clause. The situation is correctly stated subsequently on page 382. The authors either state or assume certain propositions with which one can argue. Certainly Kelson has demonstrated that there is considerable doubt about the right of a member of the United Nations to withdraw. This reviewer does not believe it correct to state that the veto applies to an amendment. A veto takes place in the Security Council, but an amendment may not be killed there by the negative vote of a permanent member. An amendment formally changes the basic law, and that is considerably different from action which the Security Council can take by a substantive vote. In any case, Article 27 can be changed with Articles 108 and 109 left intact.

This well-balanced treatment, though hardly for the uninitiated, could be used as a text. It provides thoughtful material for the mature citizen and can be read with profit by most teachers of international organization.

Charles P. Schleicher
University of Oregon

HAROLD RUGG and WILLIAM WITH-
ERS: *Social Foundations of Educa-*

tion. New York, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1955. 771 pages. \$5.40.

One of the basic requisites for effective teaching and administration in our schools is an adequate understanding of the history, background, movements, and the developments of the culture and society. In *Social Foundations of Education*, Rugg and Withers have made a notable contribution to educational literature. Theirs is no superficial appraisal of the culture in which we live. It is a comprehensive, scholarly, and penetrating study, growing out of several decades of research and teaching.

Part I pictures the teacher in mid-century America. An attempt is made to find the essence of American civilization and the beliefs and factors which have produced its progress and its problems. Contrasts are drawn between the earlier agrarian life and economy, the later "Machine Age," and the present "Atomic Age." Also, basic differences are pointed up between the frontier family life before 1800 and the urban family life of today. So great are the changes that the authors believe that our era should be known as "The Great Transition." The strategic responsibility of our schools, especially of our teachers, is emphasized as they seek to transmit and evaluate the culture. The philosophy, thought, method, and attitude of the modern world are shown to be in direct contrast with those of the medieval world. Resulting problems and developments are explained.

The economic and political problems of our society, such as production of goods, employment, economic freedom, government obligations and controls, labor, and the general interest are ana-

lyzed in Part II. Part III relates America to the world scene. Seven causes of war are listed, with corresponding theories as to how peace may be attained. Basic differences in the culture, nature, background, and aspirations of East and West are shown as reasons for the creation of a divided world. Three factors are suggested as bedrock in the analysis of any solution to modern tensions through any type of world organization: the people, their land and resources, and their capital and technology.

Part IV presents social and psychological problems in a changing America, including the basic changes in American family life and the tensions created by these changes. No less a social problem is shown to be that of race, class, and minority groups. Finally, intelligent uses of modern means of developing public opinion, or the American Public Mind, are illustrated.

Part V furnishes an apt description of the intellectual revolutions and shifts of thought which have been influential in changing the thought and culture of the medieval world to that of our time. Such changes are traced and analyzed in the physical sciences, biosocial psychology, social science, "The Wonderful Century" of 1850-1950, and in the public education of the Western world. Further contribution is made to understanding the nature of culture in general and American patterns of culture in particular, with an appraisal of American culture in Part VI.

The final section presents a cultural approach to education. Definite claim is made that "the way to cultural health is total, civilization-centered education." The authors believe that teachers have an obligation to know the culture, to appraise it objectively, and to constantly

apply the culture-centered concept to the problems of purpose, content, and method.

Throughout, belief is expressed that problems brought about by the changing nature of our times, cultural confusion, lack of general understanding, and the lack of social responsibility can be solved through a greatly improved education of all the people, and that the American democratic way can be preserved.

The reviewer recommends this book for reading and study to all students of our society, especially to those concerned with improved teaching, administration, and teacher preparation for better schools for more demanding times.

G. E. Waggener
Tarleton State College

JOE B. FRANTZ and JULIAN ERNEST CHOATE, JR.: *The American Cowboy: The Myth and the Reality*. Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1955. 232 pages. \$3.75.

One might say that there are three types of writers who depict the real American cowboy: the cowboy himself whose experiences merit the telling, the inhabitant of the cow country who knows it first hand, and the reader of literature who reveals life on the range through the interpretations of others. The authors of *The American Cowboy: The Myth and Reality* seem to belong to the last class, according to their own statement of their taking the "pedestrian way in this narrative of mounted men."

Although the contents of the book are in harmony with the title, they do

not deal with it entirely; yet the authors have succeeded in writing a "sort of short handbook which will depict the cowboy as a part of the whole western panorama, instead of looking at him as most previous works have done, in isolation from his larger environment." The book begins with the setting which explains the cowboy story, real and fictional, and discusses him as he exists on three levels—historical, fictional, and folklorish. A descriptive analysis of the real American cowboy prepares the way for an environmental research of the ranch and range, the myth, lawlessness, frontiers, and, last but not least, the literature about him.

This last part is a worthy contribution, including writers before 1900, after that date, and those who are now scholars of the range. Many lasting names are among them: Andy Adams, Emerson Hough, Stewart Edward White, O. Henry, Owen Wister, and Philip Ashton Rollins, as well as J. Frank Dobie, J. Evetts Haley, Walter Prescott Webb, and many others.

The bibliography is full, though not exhaustive. Mere mention is made in the text of John A. Lomax, and his essay "Cowboy Lingo" and his superior collection of cowboy ballads have been omitted, as well as other books on cowboy ballads and verse.

Photographs by Erwin E. Smith, outstanding cowboy photographer of the West (1886–1947), enhance the volume and assure the reader of the reality of the cowboy, for they are as legitimately factual as a canceled check and preserve the "best traditions of the range." Time may alter the brand of the cowboy chronologically as wire has fenced in his range, but Smith's pictures will preserve the life of the real

American cowboy. This book may help to show that somehow, though the cowboy has reached a sunset time, he will ride on beyond the sunset.

Margaret Bierschwale
Mason, Texas

JOHN P. WINDMULLER: *American Labor and the International Labor Movement*. Ithaca, Cornell University Institute of International Industrial and Labor Relations, 1954. 243 pages. \$3.00.

Since the middle thirties, American organized labor has become increasingly active and interested in United States foreign relations, and, concomitantly, in its own relationships with foreign labor movements. Yet, until Windmuller's monograph, students have had to rely for scholarly analysis almost wholly upon Lewis Lorwin's classic *Labor and Internationalism*, written in 1929 and revised in 1953. Lorwin's book and the one under review deal almost entirely with the problem of the relationships of American unions to foreign unions through the formal supranational organizations of national labor movements. Windmuller, after a brief historical review, deals wholly with the period 1940–1953.

This is, of course, a fascinating period. It includes the suspension of important activities of prewar organizations during the Second World War, the organization of the World Federation of Trade Unions and its final domination by "unions" from the Iron Curtain countries and their satellite unions in the free world, the reorganization of the International Trade Secretariats, the split of WFTU, and the organiza-

tion and first three congresses of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. It includes the period of the growing interest of AF of L and CIO in international labor affairs and their growing influence, paralleling the interest and influence in international affairs into which the United States has been pushed and the growth and maturation of the American labor movement.

All this is a fascinating story, and one which Windmuller tells extremely well. His analysis of the impact of internal (to the labor movement) politics on the positions United States unions took and are taking, and of the political alignments within ICFTU rings true and is convincing. The necessity of accommodation to ideologically different movements, still within the framework of adherence to political democracy, has been to some American unionists as difficult as it was to the itinerant American businessman dispensing economic aid through Marshall Plan missions. Yet the contribution made by the international labor movement and by the participation in it of United States unions, colored by political struggles within international organizations, remains one of the most important contributions of the United States to international democracy.

Windmuller's story is one that had to be told. It is here concisely, accurately, and soundly interpreted.

Frederic Meyers
University of Texas

JEAN STOETZEL: *Without the Chrysanthemum and the Sword*. New York, Columbia University, 1955. Printed for UNESCO. 334 pages. \$4.00.

In our significant effort to rearrange the weave of the fabric of Japanese society, the reform of institutions was our immediate aim, change in attitude our fondest hope. In this volume a UNESCO inquiry, conducted by a French sociologist (Stoetzel) and a Dutch expert on Japanese language and literature (J. Vos), seeks to measure the change wrought in the attitudes of Japanese youth as surveyed in 1952.

The effort itself is significant, for until now information on Japan has been derived largely from the uncannily accurate intuitive, literary, or historical insights of a few scholars of great intellect and deep understanding. Moreover, it is of interest to see whether opinion-measurement techniques, developed in the West, where attitudes of candor and individuality are highly regarded, can be effective in Japanese society, where evasion and sameness are virtues. For the UNESCO study, this barrier seems to have been met to some extent through the use of Japanese polling groups that had had considerable experience in preparing questions capable of eliciting true Japanese attitudes. Thus the National Public Opinion Research Institute of Tokyo and the Japanese Association of Cultural Science aided greatly in the survey. In addition to opinion samples, use was made of projective tests in which reactions to pictures were recorded, and of written autobiographies.

The results of the surveys can be distilled into a set of observations somewhat as follows: Japanese youth is interested in foreign affairs and regards the United States as technologically but not intellectually superior to Japan. There is great fear of war and a strong inclination toward pacifism.

There is no great urge among the youth to participate in politics, and economic problems seem more urgent than political issues. There seems to be little danger of radicalism, for attachment to the imperial institution and other Japanese traditions appears deep. In social relations, moderate changes in family life and the status of women are favored, but there is no wholesale abandonment of Japanese family values.

The first third of the book is a good survey of Japanese civilization and recent reforms. The footnotes and a bibliography of Japanese and English sources are equally useful. There are certain excesses in style, particularly in the introductory survey chapters, due probably to the fact that English is not the authors' mother tongue. The usefulness of the volume is limited by the absence of concise chapter summaries and particularly by failure to summarize all the findings at some point (preferably the end) in the text.

Ralph Braibanti
Duke University

KENNETH INGRAM: *History of the Cold War*. New York, Philosophical Library, Inc., 1955. 239 pages. \$5.00.

The realities of international politics—i.e., that states pursue their own interests, that these interests are frequently in conflict, and that reliance on the balance of power is the only road to international stability—are all too often difficult for men of good will to accept. Such persons, of whom the author of this volume is an example, offended by the harsh facts of international life, spend their efforts in search of the vil-

lain or villains who have brought the world to its unhappy situation. Characteristically, the search is conducted with complete impartiality. The present author's aim is to present an "objective account" of the hostile relationship between East and West: "My intention is to enable the reader to consider the arguments of both sides, so that, after my own summing-up, he can assess the measure of guilt attaching to both parties."

Not unexpectedly, Ingram does in fact discover considerable "guilt" on both sides, so that he finds himself in the comfortable position of being able to invoke the proverbial plague on both your houses. But rather than comment on the evidence he adduces—drawn, incidentally, almost exclusively from official pronouncements and public statements—we might stop to consider the value of the whole undertaking.

The search for "guilt" in the relations between states is bound to prove profitless, not only because the concept of guilt presupposes an accepted standard of justice, morality, or right conduct which, with the exception of the limited and highly dubious formulations of the Nürnberg War Crimes Tribunal, simply does not exist on the international level but also because it reflects and supports a fundamentally mistaken notion of the role of foreign policy. Underlying all is the assumption that states should be judged by the extent to which their policies eschew the balance of power and serve the cause of international harmony and good will. A more questionable assumption would be difficult to find.

The point of this book seems to be that peace and harmony can be as-

sured if only the West will accede to every claim made by the Communist powers. A less charitable reader might suggest that the work be subtitled *A View of East-West Relations through Pink-Colored Spectacles*.

Edwin Fogelman
University of Oklahoma

OSCAR SVARLIEN: *An Introduction to the Law of Nations*. New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1955. 478 pages. \$6.00.

As this reviewer has experienced, choosing a suitable textbook for a one-semester course on international law has been something of a problem. Most available textbooks have thus far been either casebooks with brief comments and interpretations, or voluminous treatises overburdened with too many details. Although they probably meet the requirements of the law schools, such textbooks serve less well the needs of arts and sciences students, who need to gain a general understanding of the place and function of international law in the world community and in international affairs rather than thorough erudition in the subject.

Svarlien's volume goes a long way toward meeting this need. It is relatively short and, on the whole, free from unnecessary details. Yet it treats all the essential topics that an introductory course should cover. It makes good use of judicial cases and diplomatic practices to illustrate the principles of law. And it contributes toward a better understanding of the fundamental concepts and institutions of international law by explaining their

historical and philosophical background.

As against these merits there are some flaws which should be mentioned. Much of Part One, "Concerning the International Community," seems to be out of step with the rest of the volume and would be more in place in a book on international organization than in one on international law. This is especially true of Chapter 2, which enumerates and describes some sixteen abortive plans for a world organization. Similarly, much of Chapter 20, "Problems of Collective Security," would be more suited to a book on international politics and/or international organization.

Also, a few topics are rather misplaced. The proper place for a discussion of the international personality of the United Nations is in the chapter dealing with international persons rather than in the chapter "Legal Organizations since Versailles." Moreover, the legal positions of the individuals should have been fully considered in that chapter, instead of reserving the topic for a later one. Nor does there seem to be any convincing reason why the questions of nationality and statelessness should not be dealt with in close connection with the position of aliens and the responsibility of states rather than in a separate part following the "Hostile Relations between Nations." Similarly, the logical place for a full discussion of the scope of jurisdiction and procedure of the International Court of Justice is in the chapter "Pacific Settlement of Disputes" rather than in "Legal Organizations since Versailles."

Finally, in a few instances, the author's statements are lacking in pre-

cision to the point of being possibly misunderstood by the student. Judicial decisions certainly cannot be considered as just "another source of international law" without further qualification. Merchant vessels which enter foreign ports through *force majeure* can hardly claim "total immunity" from the local jurisdiction. As the recent Corfu Channel case clearly shows, the author's statement that warships "do not enjoy a legal right to innocent passage under the law of nations" is not quite correct.

In spite of these few shortcomings, which could easily be corrected, Svarlien's book meets the needs of the undergraduate courses on international law in arts and sciences more adequately than any other current textbook.

Edward Taborsky
University of Texas

PALMER T. HOGENSON: *The Economics of Group Banking*. Washington, Public Affairs Press, 1955. 199 pages. \$5.00.

The author presents a comprehensive and objective picture of group banking, covering its history, present-day scope, advantages and disadvantages, and future possibilities. A good part of the book is devoted to a listing and brief description of the 35 group-banking companies and the 434 individual group banks in the United States at the present time. Group banking expanded most rapidly from 1927 to 1929, declined seriously from 1931 to 1938, and has shown great stability since that time. The author believes there is a place in American banking for the existing group banks but believes that

if further bank combination is desired by the country, it is likely to take the form of branch banking.

Two large group-holding companies—Northwest Bancorporation and First Bank Stock Corporation, both operating in the central Northwest states—are chosen for more extended study. Since these two companies are remarkably similar in history, size, and area of operations, one is left wondering how typical they are of group banks and of the impact of such banks on the country. A study of two dissimilar systems in different parts of the country would seemingly have been more fruitful.

In analyzing the impact of these two group companies on the central Northwest states, extensive use is made of a "lending ratio," which is simply the ratio of loans and discounts to deposits. The conclusion reached is that the individual group banks have at least as high a ratio as the nongroup banks of the region. The author admits that these lending ratios may not mean too much, but this does not prevent him from devoting 25 tables and considerable explanation to an examination of these ratios. These lending ratios certainly do not demonstrate enough to justify the central place that has been given them.

In spite of these criticisms, however, this book undoubtedly fills the need for a comprehensive, up-to-date picture of group banking; and it is to be recommended to all students of banking who wish to expand and bring up to date their knowledge of this subject.

Leon M. Schur
Louisiana State University

C. W. WILKINSON, J. H. MENNING, and C. R. ANDERSON (eds.): *Writing for Business*. Rev. ed. Homewood, Illinois, Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1955. 423 pages. \$3.95.

Edited by perhaps the three top men in the college field of business writing today, this revised edition of readings is extremely valuable as a reference book or a supplementary text. The original edition has been studied carefully by the editors, and surveys were made of college teachers and students to determine what changes needed to be made. As a result, this edition includes thirty-seven new articles and a new section on the very important subject of report writing.

If you are even vaguely interested in the field of business writing, you will want this in your personal library. If you can not justify an adoption, you will certainly want several library copies for the use of your students. The articles give the student of letter writing a practical, human side of letters.

The purpose of this book is to "bring together in a single volume of convenient size the best articles written in recent years on the theory and practice of business communication, fresh from the men who know the latest developments." It certainly lives up to that purpose.

Beginning with articles on basic mechanical and psychological principles, the book progresses to articles on specific types of letters: inquiries, sales, applications, credits, etc. Nearly all of the articles are well written, in a conversational, down-to-earth manner that is far from academic and stodgy.

A glance at the titles of some of the articles will give an idea of the book's

appeal and of how usable it is: "Nine Steps to More Effective Letters," "Letters You Don't Have to Write," "Letters Can Say No But Keep Friends," "Easy and Effective Inquiry Handling," "Building a Live Mailing List," "Writing Application Letters," "Goodwill the Neiman-Marcus Way." Irwin's beautiful job of printing and physical make-up invites reading.

Kenneth Baker Horning
University of Oklahoma

DAVID RODNICK: *The Norwegians: A Study in National Culture*. Washington, Public Affairs Press, 1955. \$3.25.

The small homogeneous nations of northern Europe offer an inviting field to investigators in the social sciences. They are largely without the inner tensions of differences in race, language, religion, and social cleavage present in larger nations and are, on the whole, less bothered with external problems than larger nations. No doubt this has been an important reason why these nations of northern Europe have achieved high standards of living, education, and social justice—in fact, perhaps the highest in the world. Norway is in most respects typical of them. It is different insofar as, lacking any considerable agricultural and mineral resources, it owes its high status solely to the intelligence and enterprise of its citizens.

With the assistance of several fellowships, the author and his wife spent a year investigating the cultural structure of Norway, visiting, as they state, thirty farms, and thirty-four cities, towns, and district centers, and interviewing over five hundred adults and

many children. Their conclusions were checked against such Norwegian publications as were available, and they are presented with some prolixity but also with a gratifying absence of sociological patter. Most satisfactory I found the chapters on the various occupations; least satisfactory, those on the familial and social life where contrasting views of persons interviewed are for the most part merely quoted, canceling one another. I miss a chapter on the language struggle, which, strange as it may seem, causes more of a cleavage among Norwegians than do differences in religion and social position.

I should also have liked a section on an interesting semisocialistic innovation—common, I believe, to most Scandinavian cities—viz., the co-operative building and managing of apartment houses, sometimes with municipal or state help, instead of block upon block's being built as a speculative venture by a capitalistic entrepreneur or a real estate company. As it is, though often dreary and grim in the extreme, these phalansteries at least do not contribute to the making of millionaires. For that matter, there are but few of the millionaire species in Norway, ship-builders and forest owners being about the only ones. At the other end of the social scale, beggars and rags really shine by their absence.

Lee M. Hollander
University of Texas

HOWARD R. SMITH: *Economic History of the United States*. New York, The Ronald Press, 1955. 763 pages. \$6.00.

This book takes a refreshingly different approach to what at some hands

can become a distressingly dull subject: economic history. Discarding the usual topical treatment, Smith plunges into his story in the seventeenth century and does not come up for air until the mid-twentieth. What emerges is a skillful and well-told tale of the interplay of the key economic and political forces that shaped the nation's development. In reality what Smith has written is not economic history in the usual sense but real political economy.

The leitmotiv of the book is the dynamic role played by the economic-interest group—sectional or functional—pragmatically defining its objectives and opportunistically pursuing them in the hurly-burly of a lusty, democratic process. The focus of the book is usually the nation's capital, where economic interests are met, interpreted, and reconciled.

The strength of the book is also its weakness. Concentrating on the interplay of economic and political forces, Smith is compelled to some extent to neglect the more purely economic aspects of history. The distinguishing techniques and relations of production in each of the stages of production through which the major sectors of the economy have evolved are not carefully developed to give the reader a "feel" of our economic past. The role of resources in economic development does not receive heavy emphasis. Nor does the author rigorously use economic principle—as does Wright, for example—to elucidate the impact of economic forces upon history. In defense let it be said, however, that it is undoubtedly as difficult to be everybody's economic historian as it is to be everybody's philosopher or father-confessor.

The book should be adaptable for use at any undergraduate level, though the reviewer's impression is that the sophistication of the analysis is a bit heavy for the typical freshman. Assistance is provided the more backward scholars—and the brighter, as well—by the device of a chronology of important historical events, economic and other, placed at the beginning of each chapter, by footnotes defining economic concepts and principles used in the analysis, and by questions listed at the end of each chapter.

All in all, Smith has parlayed a fresh approach into a quite satisfactory text that deserves its fair share of adoptions.

John P. Owen
University of Houston

JAMES N. MORGAN: *Consumer Economics*. New York, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1955. 440 pages. \$6.00.

A distinctive feature of this new text in consumer economics is the extensive use of empirical data gathered through personal-interview surveys by the Survey Research Center of the University of Michigan. The author, assistant program director of the Survey Research Center, has utilized many special tabulations in addition to material published previously in the annual surveys of consumer finances. As he points out, a text such as this could not have been written much earlier, for reliable information concerning consumer behavior remained very limited prior to the development of the personal-interview survey.

Following a brief analysis of aggregate spending, saving, and investment, Morgan devotes the major portion of

the book to consumer decision-making and the problems of public policy associated with the consumption process in the modern economy. His purpose is to increase the student's understanding of both individual and social problems of consumption. Particularly noteworthy are the chapters on insurance, medical care, and housing; there may be found in these pages a great deal of practical and valuable information not readily available elsewhere. These chapters also include a discussion of medical care and housing as community problems.

Two separate chapters are devoted to public policy. The discussion of government protection for the consumer against fraud and profiteering is a well-documented indictment of such business practices as deceptive advertising, adulteration, and price-fixing. "The Consumer as Voter and Citizen," perhaps the best chapter in the entire book, covers such topics as resale price maintenance, agricultural price supports, and the distribution of income.

Excellent references, including many articles from technical and professional journals, are offered at the end of each chapter.

J. P. Simpson
University of Kansas

G. A. TOKAEV: *Betrayal of an Idea*. Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1955. 298 pages. \$4.00.

ERNEST J. SIMMONS (ed.): *Continuity and Change in Russian and Soviet Thought*. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1955. 563 pages. \$7.50.

G. A. Tokaev, late colonel in the Air Force of the USSR and former instruc-

tor at the Moscow Air Academy, presents here the first of a two-volume autobiography explanatory of his reasons for repudiating the Communist party and seeking asylum in the West. Somewhat in the manner of Victor Kravchenko's *I Chose Freedom*, the author describes the climate of opinion which made him first an ardent revolutionist and supporter of the Communist party and then later how the rise of the Stalin dictatorship gradually paralyzed all that was best in the revolution until its original idealism was smothered under the blanket of conformity imposed by the police state.

Since the author is not a Great Russian but a member of the Ossetian nationality from the Northern Caucasus, his story is illustrative of the nationalist resentment of the centralizing and unifying policies pursued by Stalin. To this extent a new facet of potential opposition and dissatisfaction within Russia is opened up for examination. Politically Tokaev's idealism led him into dangerous affiliation with the underground resistance of the "Right" deviationists, and his description of the mode of operation and attitude of mind of these opponents of the Stalinist dictatorship is of considerable interest.

The book breathes a freshness and sincerity which make it absorbing reading. It constitutes a valuable addition to the literature descriptive of the psychology of those who have preferred exile to conformity while still maintaining their faith in the ideals of the original Bolshevik Revolution. The author's second volume will be awaited with interest; in the meantime, his first deserves wide circulation and analysis.

Continuity and Change comprises a series of essays by some thirty-one

scholars in the field of Russian studies. The papers were originally prepared for a seminar held at Arden House in March of 1954. The area covered includes discussions of Russian economy, political ideals and practices, literary and utopian thought, and the relation of Russia to the community of nations. Prepared by specialists in the field, each paper carries the stamp of careful scholarship and research. Like all collections, it suffers from the divergency of approach and treatment. Although the central theme is presumably the continuity between Imperial and Soviet Russian thought, no real attempt has been made to achieve this goal. The majority of the essays are "period pieces" and, with such notable exceptions as Mathewson's contribution, *The Hero and Society*, and some others, the presence or absence of continuity is hardly indicated.

Most of the essays are likewise written from the historian's point of view, with but little attention to other methods of approach in the social sciences. In this respect the work is inferior to Friedrich's edited proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences Conference of 1953, which appeared under the title *Totalitarianism*. This criticism is not made in depreciation of the individual papers, which are of high quality, but to correct what otherwise might be the effect of the rather misleading title of the book. The book had been better titled *Essays in Russian History and Culture*, for it is here that its true value lies. In this respect it is a most useful reference work, one where the inquiring reader can find definitive statements on topics as various as *Chernov and Agrarian Socialism before 1918*, *Vysbinsky's Concept*

of Collectivity, and Social and Aesthetic Criteria in Soviet Russian Criticism.

H. Malcolm Macdonald
University of Texas

PHILIP DRUCKER: *Indians of the Northwest Coast*. Anthropological Handbook Number Ten. Published for the American Museum of Natural History. New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1955. 208 pages. \$5.75.

Drucker has taken for his cultural area the coast of North America from Cape Mendocino, California, to Kayak Island, Alaska, through about twenty degrees of latitude. Here various Indian groups, of diverse language stocks and differing somewhat in physical characteristics, share a number of fundamental cultural patterns that form the framework of the Northwest Coast civilization. For many years this cultural area has offered a rich field of research to the anthropologists, whose findings have been printed in varied learned journals. Drucker has condensed this vast fund of material and has arranged it in a form usable by the average layman interested in the subject.

More than a hundred well-chosen and beautifully reproduced illustrations make this book a delight to the casual inquirer and to the serious student alike. This pictorial wealth, combined with an adequate, accurate text, will appeal to every teacher, from the primary grades through college, who handles material dealing with the West Coast tribes. Here are the black slate carvings, the ceremonial masks of red

cedar, the Chilkat blankets, the decorated horn spoons, and the totem poles. Understandable and reasonable explanations are given of such customs as the Potlatch.

Even so, this is no easy-flowing narrative. It is a digest of important material, with accuracy valued above literary style. A few words are misused, such as "liable" for "likely," and too frequently a modifying clause dangles at the end of a sentence. Aside from these minor items, this is an excellent piece of work.

Francis Haines
Oregon College of Education

ELGIN F. HUNT, NORMAN HILL, and THOMAS S. FARR: *Social Science: An Introduction to the Study of Society*. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1955. 741 pages. \$6.90.

This volume, like its predecessor, *Introduction to Social Science*, is an outgrowth of many years of teaching a broad-gauge social science course in the junior colleges of Chicago. It is divided into five parts. The first two follow the more or less conventional form of introductory textbooks in sociology, with distinct stress on social problems rather than on systematic theory. Problems relating to social change, demography, personal adjustment, family, communities, race relations, delinquency and crime, and finally education are here discussed.

The third division deals with economics, viewed largely from an institutional standpoint and again with emphasis on social problems related to our economic order. Among other topics treated are stability and full em-

ployment, economic inequality and problems of economic security, agriculture, and consumer problems. Part Four, "Political Organization and Social Problems," discusses the place of government in society, contrasts democratic with totalitarian forms of statecraft, reviews the place of political parties in our electoral system, and concludes with attention to public finance and social welfare.

The final division, "International Relations," attempts to give an adequate background for understanding the need to maintain world peace. Political and economic relations of nations are discussed, as are problems of nationalism, imperialism, and current Russian expansionism.

The authors have provided a number of excellent learning aids for the student. At the close of each chapter are lists of important concepts to be defined, review and discussion questions, and selected references for further reading, which the teacher will find useful. This book will probably have wide use, especially for those general introductory courses which attempt to cover the chief social science disciplines. It is well-written and, for a book of this character, reasonably free of value judgments.

Kimball Young
Northwestern University

WILLIAM E. THOMAS, JR. (ed.): *Readings in Cost Accounting, Budgeting, and Control*. Cincinnati, South-Western Publishing Company, 1955. 785 pages. \$6.00.

The appearance of "readings" in accounting marks a stage in the develop-

ment of the academic branch of that profession. Heaven forbid that they burgeon as they have in literature and poetry. Some articles deserve recirculation, however, and a few collections may be useful. Thomas has made a rather discerning selection, with less overlap and duplication than is often found in handbooks where chapters are written by various persons at an editor's request.

The volume contains fifty-seven articles, among which are the inventory bulletin of the Committee on Accounting Procedure, four of the NACA research series, and most of the second chapter of Paton and Littleton's classic monograph. In all, forty-nine writers are represented. The editor has been discriminating both as to content and author. Curiously (since the volume is published under the auspices of the American Accounting Association), the statements of the cost accounting committees of that organization are not included.

The articles are assembled into four sections: background and theory; problem areas of accounting for product and period costs; problem areas of planning and control; and reports for management. The first section is subdivided into three parts: history of cost accounting; theory of accounting and budgeting as managerial tools for planning and control; and theory of cost accounting for income determination.

Cost accounting has never been satisfactorily distinguished from plain accounting; it is not here. The articles deal with the managerial use of accounting data, the organization and delegation necessary for good accounting service, and cost analyses asserted to be pertinent to specific managerial

decisions, particularly pricing. The controversy over allocations in establishing inventory figures and in reporting performance of products and organizational segments is thoroughly covered. Other accounting frontiers described in one or more articles are direct costing, break-even analysis, and probability charts.

The purpose of the collection is to serve as supplementary reading in courses with regular texts, especially in schools with small accounting libraries. However, over half the selections are from the *NACA Bulletin* and the *Accounting Review*, and two-thirds were written in the last five years. It is difficult to conceive of a school bringing accounting students up to the conceptual level of understanding required for profitable use of this anthology without having in its library bound volumes of these periodicals, *Accounting Research Bulletin* 43, and *Corporate Accounting Standards*. About ten articles are from more fugitive sources. The big question is whether or not an annotated bibliography would have served at a considerable saving in man-hours and investment.

The only serious defect which can be charged against the editor is the lack of an index. This volume would be appreciably more useful if the reader could turn to specific topics readily.

Jim G. Asbburne
University of Texas

HENRY CLAY SMITH: *Psychology of Industrial Behavior*. New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1955. 477 pages. \$6.00.

This book begins with a clear state-

ment of its objective. The author states at once that the psychologist in business uses scientific facts and methods to help solve the human problems of an industrial civilization for the benefit of man. The critical human problems of modern industry are embodied in the following questions: How are men motivated to work in ways that are satisfying and productive? How can their frustrations and job anxieties be reduced? How can their job satisfaction and personal adjustment be improved? How can executives create more effective industrial work teams, develop better supervisors, and build more productive organizations? How can companies improve union-management relations? How can the behavior of workers and work groups be more accurately measured, predicted, and controlled?

The author has given considerable emphasis to the group and organizational problems of industry. Part III is a description of human relations, with chapters on group dynamics, supervision, organization, and union-management relations. The other four parts of the book follow more closely the traditional core content, with discussions of employee motivation, selection, placement, training, and adjustment. The whole is tightly written and has good research documentation. A concluding chapter on problems and solutions is a succinct summary of the major individual and group problems of industry, including a set of constructive proposals for improving satisfaction and productivity. This book should instill pride in the student for the achievements of industrial psychology. The author communicates his enthusiasm for his specialty and the enthusi-

asm is diffused throughout the book. The organization of the content is such a blend of individual and social psychology that the student has an excellent base for integrating his thinking on this subject with other social science studies.

The reviewer is an industrial sociologist and cannot help but make comparisons with this nearest of kin. Industrial psychology, as it becomes increasingly interested in group and organizational problems, draws closer to industrial sociology. Yet even here, where there is so much similarity, the difference in emphasis and approach between the two fields is significant. Industrial sociology has not been committed so completely to the applied aspects. Industrial sociologists have looked upon the field of work as a sector of social relationships offering possibilities for intensive or specialized study. Theoretical and research aspects have been more valued than applied aspects. In addition, as Edward C. Tolman pointed out recently in the *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* (April, 1952), sociology is concerned with situations and structures, social expectations, and role relationships, whereas psychology focuses upon stimulation, cognition, personal values, and acts. Social scientists must rely heavily on both approaches, for no social science can proceed without some theory of individual motivation and learning, nor can it ignore groups and organizations. *Psychology of Industrial Behavior* is an excellent product of this mutual concern. Students should find the challenge that Smith found in studying and writing about industrial psychology.

Delbert C. Miller
University of Washington

WILBUR B. BROOKOVER: *A Sociology of Education*. New York, American Book Company, 1955. 436 pages. \$4.75.

This interesting and well-written book has illustrative cases interspersed with the text material without interrupting the sequence of the discussion. The author selects the content on the basis of four concepts: the relationship of the educational system to other aspects of society; human relations within the school; impact of the school on the behavior and personality of its participants; and the school in the community. After an introductory section, which very briefly reviews the influence of biological, geographical, and other factors upon the education of the child and the development of educational sociology, the author uses his four concepts to form the bases for the four parts of the book.

Part II, "Education and the Social Order," contains two excellent chapters. The one entitled "Social Class" reviews earlier studies, such as those of Elmtown and Brasstown, and shows their importance in the classroom and in student activities. The other, "Education and Intergroup Relations," discusses problems especially related to the Negro and the American Indian. The specific issue of integration, now become of such sociological importance, is, however, omitted from the discussion.

The parts dealing with interrelationships of the school and the community are treated in very general terms. There is no reference to the relationship of the school to such community agencies as the church, recreational and health facilities, radio and television, or even

parent-teacher groups. There is likewise no analysis of social processes or their application to education. The book is more nearly a brief analysis of the social implications of education than a sociology of education.

Francis J. Brown
American Council on Education

DAVID T. CATTELL: *Communism and the Spanish Civil War*. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1955. 290 pages. \$2.75 (paper).

There has long been need for an impartial study of the influence of international communism and the USSR on the development of the Spanish Civil War. Sufficient time has now elapsed for the partisan and polemic nature of the controversy to die down sufficiently so that a reasonably objective analysis can be made. The present work, the first of two projected volumes, deals with the influence of the Communist party upon internal Spanish politics. The second volume, still to appear, will deal with the relationship between the Spanish situation and the foreign policy of the USSR.

In this first volume the author attempts to answer the question as to why the USSR intervened in the Spanish Civil War at all and whether such intervention was intended as a means of spreading Communist control over the Iberian Peninsula. The author deals with the problems of the origin of the United Front, the extent of Russian military aid and its effect upon the popularity of the Communist movement, and the nature of the internal intrigues and struggles for power which took place within the republican re-

gime. He concludes that the Communists deliberately refrained from seizing power and that their policy was basically motivated by an attempt to use the Spanish struggle as a means of defending the interests of the USSR against the rising tide of fascism.

H. Malcolm Macdonald
University of Texas

Other Books Received

June, 1956

Bainton, Roland H.: *The Age of the Reformation*. Princeton, New Jersey, An Anvil Original, 1956. 192 pages. \$1.25.

Ball, M. Margaret, and Hugh B. Kilgough: *International Relations*. New York, The Ronald Press Company, 1956. 667 pages. \$6.50.

Barton, Rebecca Chalmers, with a foreword by Walter J. Kohler: *Our Human Rights: A Study in the Art of Persuasion*. Washington, Public Affairs Press, 1955. 102 pages. \$2.50.

Bishop, Hillman M., and Samuel Hendel (eds.): *Basic Issues of American Democracy*. 3rd ed., New York, Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1956. 484 pages. \$3.75.

Botsford, George Willis, and Charles Alexander Robinson, Jr.: *Hellenic History*. 4th ed., New York, The Macmillan Company, 1956. 519 pages. \$6.75.

Buckingham, Clyde E.: *Red Cross Disaster Relief: Its Origin and Develop-*

- ment. Washington, Public Affairs Press, 1956. 47 pages. \$2.00.
- Burns, Arthur Robert: *Comparative Economic Organization*. New York, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1955. 766 pages.
- Canfield, Bertrand R.: *Public Relations: Principles, Cases, and Problems*. Rev. ed., Homewood, Illinois, Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1956. 691 pages. \$6.00.
- Census Tract Street Directory: Austin, Texas*. Austin, The University of Texas, Bureau of Business Research, 1955. 34 pages.
- Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique: *Bulletin Analytique: Philosophie*. Vol. IX, No. 4. Paris, Centre de Documentation du C.N.R.S., 1955. 1025-1405 pages.
- Chase, Stuart, in consultation with Edmund DeS. Brunner: *The Proper Study of Mankind*. Rev. ed., New York, Harper & Brothers, 1956. 327 pages. \$3.00.
- Corbett, James A.: *The Papacy: A Brief History*. Princeton, New Jersey, D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1956. 192 pages. \$1.25.
- Daland, Robert T.: *Government and Health: The Alabama Experience*. University, Alabama, University of Alabama, Bureau of Public Administration, 1955. 218 pages.
- Darwin, Charles, with a preface by Margaret Mead: *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals*. New York, Philosophical Library, Inc., 1955. 372 pages. \$6.00.
- DeGré, Gerard: *Science as a Social Institution: An Introduction to the Sociology of Science*. Doubleday Short Studies in Sociology. Garden City, New York, Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1955. 48 pages. \$.85.
- Due, John F.: *Intermediate Economic Analysis*. 3rd ed., Homewood, Illinois, Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1956. 588 pages. \$6.00.
- Eberhardt, John L.: *Kansas State Department of Public Instruction*. Lawrence, Kansas, University of Kansas Publications, Governmental Research Series No. 14, 1955. 255 pages.
- The Elementary School Curriculum: Citizenship Education*. Albany, New York, New York State Education Department, 1955. 77 pages.
- The Fifty-fourth Texas Legislature: A Review of its Work*. Austin, Texas, The University of Texas, Institute of Public Affairs, 1955. 32 pages.
- Gabriel, Ralph Henry: *The Course of American Democratic Thought*. 2d ed., New York, The Ronald Press Company, 1956. 508 pages. \$6.00.
- General Science Equipment Inventory: A Check List of Science Apparatus and Supplies for Grades 7, 8 and 9*. Albany, New York, The University of the State of New York Press, New York State Education Department, Bureau of Secondary Curriculum Development, 1955. Curriculum Leaflet No. 5. 18 pages.
- Geyl, Pieter: *Debates with Historians*. New York, Philosophical Library, Inc., 1956. 241 pages. \$7.50.
- Grampp, William D., and Emanuel T. Weiler (eds.): *Economic Policy: Readings in Political Economy*. Rev.

- ed., Homewood, Illinois, Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1956. 427 pages. \$3.95.
- Greenwood, David, with a foreword by Svend Riemer: *Essays in Human Relations*. Washington, Public Affairs Press, 1956. 76 pages. \$1.00.
- Harriss, C. Lowell: *The American Economy: Principles, Practices, and Policies*. Rev. ed., Homewood, Illinois, Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1956. 816 pages. \$6.00.
- Heady, Ferrell, and Robert H. Pealy: *The Michigan Department of Administration*. Ann Arbor, Michigan, University of Michigan, Institute of Public Administration, Bureau of Government, Michigan Governmental Studies No. 31, 1956. 146 pages.
- Henshaw, Richard C., Jr.: *Natural-Gas Statistics*. A Supplement to Research Monograph No. 15, Economics of Natural Gas in Texas. Austin, Texas, The University of Texas, College of Business Administration, Bureau of Business Research, 1955. 127 pages. \$2.00.
- Hunt, Maurice P., and Lawrence E. Metcalf: *Teaching High School Social Studies: Problems in Reflective Thinking and Social Understanding*. New York, Harper & Brothers, 1955. 471 pages. \$4.50.
- Intermediate Appellate Courts*. Frankfort, Kentucky, Legislative Research Commission, Informational Bulletin No. 12, 1956. 24 pages.
- International Social Science Bulletin: Evaluation Techniques*. Vol. VII, No. 3. Paris, UNESCO, 1955. 547 pages. \$1.00.
- Kenworthy, Leonard S.: *Free and Inexpensive Materials on World Affairs*. Washington, Public Affairs Press, 1954. 94 pages. \$1.25.
- Krooss, Herman E.: *American Economic Development*. New York, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1955. 536 pages. \$6.00.
- Larson, James E.: *Reapportionment in Alabama*. University, Alabama, University of Alabama, Bureau of Public Administration, 1955. 76 pages.
- The Legislative Process in Kentucky*. Frankfort, Kentucky, Legislative Research Commission, Commonwealth of Kentucky, 1955. 244 pages.
- Morris, Richard B.: *Basic Documents in American History*. Princeton, New Jersey, An Anvil Original, 1956. 192 pages. \$1.25.
- Nielander, William A.: *A Selected and Annotated Bibliography of Public Relations*. Rev. ed., Austin, Texas, University of Texas, Bureau of Business Research, Bibliography Series 3, 1956. 42 pages.
- Pealy, Robert H. (ed.): *Study Kit on Michigan Local Government*. 2d ed., Ann Arbor, Michigan, University of Michigan Press, 1956. 19 pages. \$1.00.
- Preveden, Francis R.: *A History of the Croatian People*. Vol. 1: *Prehistory and Early Period until 1397 A.D.* New York, Philosophical Library, Inc., 1955. 198 pages. \$7.50.
- Rea, Frederick B.: *Alcoholism: Its Psychology and Cure*. New York, Phil-

- osophical Library, Inc., 1956. 143 pages. \$3.50.
- Revista de la Escuela de Contabilidad, Economia y Administracion. Vol. VII.* Monterrey, Mexico, Instituto Tecnologico y de Estudios Superiores de Monterrey, 1955. 313-423 pages. \$1.00.
- Roback, A. A. (ed.): *Present-Day Psychology: An Original Survey of Departments, Branches, Methods, and Phases, Including Clinical and Dynamic Psychology.* New York, Philosophical Library, Inc., 1955. 995 pages. \$12.00.
- Runes, Dagobert D.: *On the Nature of Man: An Essay in Primitive Philosophy.* New York, Philosophical Library, Inc., 1956. 105 pages. \$3.00.
- Russell, Sir E. John: *Science and Modern Life.* New York, Philosophical Library, 1955. 101 pages. \$2.75.
- The Social Sciences in Secondary Schools: Report of an Inquiry Presented to UNESCO by the International Federation of Secondary Teachers.* Reports and Papers in the Social Sciences, No. 4. Paris, UNESCO, 1955. 60 pages. \$.40.
- Sweedlun, Verne S., and Golda M. Crawford, in collaboration with Louis H. Douglas and John G. Kenyon: *Man in Society. Vol. II.* New York, American Book Company, 1956. 651 pages. \$5.50.
- Teaching American History.* Albany, New York, New York State Education Department, Bureau of Secondary Curriculum Development, 1955. 391 pages.
- Turano, Peter J.: *Michigan State and Local Government and Politics: A Bibliography.* Ann Arbor, Michigan, University of Michigan, Institute of Public Administration, Bureau of Government, 1955. 269 pages.
- Vella, Walter F.: *The Impact of the West on Government in Thailand.* University of California Publications in Political Science. Vol. 4, No. 3. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1955. 410 pages. \$1.50.
- Viereck, Peter: *Conservatism: From John Adams to Churchill.* Princeton, New Jersey, D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., An Anvil Original, 1956. 191 pages. \$1.25.
- Wallbank, T. Walter: *Contemporary Africa: Continent in Transition.* Princeton, New Jersey, D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., An Anvil Original, 1956. 192 pages. \$1.25.
- Water Rights Law in Kentucky.* Frankfort, Kentucky, Legislative Research Commission, Research Publication No. 42, 1956. 75 pages.
- Watkins, Arthur V., and Raymond Moley: *The Upper Colorado Reclamation Project.* Washington, American Enterprise Association, Inc., 1956. 77 pages. \$1.00.
- Wholesale Committee of the Austin Chamber of Commerce (comp. by): *Directory of Austin, Texas, Wholesalers.* Austin, Texas, The University of Texas, Bureau of Business Research, 1955. 70 pages.

Wolfard, Merl Ruskin: *Thinking about Thinking*. New York, Philosophical Library, Inc., 1955. 273 pages. \$5.00.

Zimmerman, Carle C.: *Patterns of*

Social Change: A Survey of the Main Ideas of the Greatest Sociologists. Annals of American Sociology. Washington, Public Affairs Press, 1956. 36 pages. \$1.00.

The Association: Proceedings of the 1956 Convention

Minutes of the Executive Council, Southwestern Social Science Association, Thursday, March 29, 1956

The meeting was called to order by President White at 7:30 P.M. in the Plaza Hotel, San Antonio, Texas.

Those present were: John W. White, O. J. Curry, J. William Davis, Leon Megginson, P. F. Boyer, Carl M. Rosenquist, Frederic Meyers, Henry J. Meenen, W. H. Baughn, John E. Kane, L. F. Miller, Glenn D. Overman, Leland McLeod, Wendell C. Gordon, Stanley Arbingast, S. M. Kennedy, and Dwayne Oglesby.

It was moved by Meyers and seconded by Baughn that the minutes of the previous meeting be adopted as published in the June, 1955, issue of the *Quarterly*. Passed unanimously.

A discussion of the possibility of the business law group's meeting as a section of the Southwestern Social Science Association was led by Oglesby. It was pointed out by Rosenquist and Boyer that to do so its members must be members of the Association. The consensus was that if the group requests this, President White be empowered to bring the request before the new council when it meets Saturday.

It was announced by President White that the 1957 convention would be held during April 19-20, 1957, at the Hotel Adolphus, Dallas, Texas. He

reiterated the policy of the Council that the Association meet two years in the Dallas-Fort Worth area, and one year on the periphery. Bids from Dallas, Fort Worth, Mineral Wells, Beaumont, Phoenix, and other places were read.

Baughn led a discussion of the Standard Operating Procedures, to be used by the General Program Chairman and the section chairmen. It was moved and seconded that a vote of thanks be given to the Past Program Chairman for preparing this SOP.

Meyers gave a report of the *Quarterly* activities and this report becomes a part of these minutes. He announced that he is resigning as Editor to take leave of absence to go to Europe next year and that the University of Texas is relinquishing its subsidy of the *Quarterly*, effective with the June, 1956, issue. At least two schools have indicated an interest in subsidizing the *Quarterly*, but no action was taken at this time. It was moved by Boyer and seconded by Rosenquist that the Editor's report be accepted and the editor commended for a job well done. Passed unanimously.

The Secretary-Treasurer presented the financial report for the fiscal year March 1, 1955, to February 29, 1956.

A copy of this report becomes a part of these minutes. It was moved by Meyers and seconded by White that the report be accepted. Passed unanimously.

The Secretary-Treasurer led a discussion concerning requests for exhibit space for other than book publishers. It was moved by Baughn and seconded by Davis that exhibit space be allocated and charged for on the same basis for everyone. Passed unanimously.

The Secretary-Treasurer led a discussion concerning requests that he has for membership lists and indicated that the requests are becoming numerous. It was moved by Davis and seconded by Curry that lists of individual membership be made available to nonmembers for a fee of \$25 each. Passed unanimously.

The President led a discussion concerning the possibility of institutions other than colleges and universities becoming institutional members. He appointed a committee composed of

Rosenquist, chairman; Boyer, and Davis to consider the matter and report to the Council at the Saturday meeting concerning this possibility. The committee was also to make a recommendation concerning the membership fees in the Association.

The President emphasized that the current section chairmen have the responsibility for election of new chairmen and editors and for reporting to the Secretary-Treasurer the results of the elections.

Wendell C. Gordon discussed the possibility of the Introductory Social Science Course luncheon group's becoming a section of the Southwestern Social Science Association. No action was taken at this time.

The General Program Chairman led a discussion of the program for this year.

The meeting adjourned.

Leon C. Megginson
Secretary-Treasurer

Minutes of the General Business Meeting, Southwestern Social Science Association, Saturday, March 31, 1956

The meeting was called to order by President White at 8:00 A.M. in the Plaza Hotel, San Antonio, Texas.

It was moved, seconded, and passed unanimously that the minutes of the previous meeting, as reported in the June, 1955, *Quarterly* be adopted.

Leon C. Megginson, Secretary-Treasurer, gave the financial report for the preceding year. It was moved, seconded, and passed unanimously that this report be adopted, and it now becomes a part of these minutes.

Frederic Meyers gave his report as Editor of the *Quarterly*. In this report he announced the necessity of his resigning because of a leave of absence next year. He also said that the University of Texas is relinquishing its subsidy to the *Quarterly*. It was moved and seconded that this report be accepted. Passed unanimously.

Alvin Bertrand submitted the following report of the Committee on the Nomination of Officers for 1956-57: President, O. J. Curry, North Texas

State College; First Vice-President, J. William Davis, Texas Technological College; Second Vice-President, Walter Watson, Southern Methodist University. It was moved by Meyers and seconded by Meenen that this slate of officers be adopted by acclamation. The motion passed unanimously and the Secretary was instructed to cast a unanimous ballot for the slate.

J. William Davis, Second Vice-President, submitted a report on memberships. This report indicated a change in the method of soliciting members from a "field of interest" basis to an "institution" basis and said that one person from each of the institutions had been asked to serve to solicit new members. He also reported that the number of members had increased from 554 to 633 at the end of the current fiscal year.

It was moved by Davis and seconded by Pray that the Local Arrangements Committee, headed by Professor Erlandson, be commended. Passed unanimously.

J. J. Mennen, General Program Chairman, reported on the program arrangements. It was moved, seconded, and passed unanimously that he be given a commendation for the program for the year.

Joseph Pray gave a report of the Institutional Membership Committee. The report showed that the following four institutional memberships had been added to the list: Oklahoma Baptist University, Oklahoma City University, University of Oklahoma, and University of New Mexico. He moved the adoption of the report. It was seconded by Davis, passed unanimously, and becomes part of these minutes.

Joseph Pray reported for the Southwestern Social Science Foundation. The report suggested that in order to publicize the Foundation, Dr. Dulan be given a spot on the 1957 program. The report also contained Arthur A. Smith's resignation as Chairman. It was moved by Roberts and seconded by Baughn that the report of the Committee be approved and that the recommendation be conveyed to the incoming President. It was passed unanimously.

Carl M. Rosenquist reported for the Endowment Committee. It was recommended that this committee be continued and that it strive to secure endowments for the Association. It was moved, seconded, and passed unanimously that the recommendation be accepted.

Roy McPherson reported for Dean Lang for the Resolutions Committee. He moved the adoption of the report. This was seconded and passed unanimously, and the report becomes part of these minutes.

G. W. McGinty, chairman of the Constitutional Amendments Committee, reported that there were no changes in the Constitution during the year.

Art Roberts presented the report of the Auditing Committee and moved its adoption. The motion was seconded and passed unanimously, and the report becomes part of the minutes.

Carl M. Rosenquist reported for the special committee appointed by President White to study membership dues. The committee recommended that Section III of the By-Laws be amended to read: "The membership dues for individuals shall be \$5; for students, \$2.50; for libraries, \$5," beginning March 1, 1957. He moved the adop-

tion of the report. The motion was seconded by Baughn and passed unanimously.

Marion Smith led a discussion of the racial question as it pertains to hotel facilities and suggested that the Executive Council consider it in choosing hotels in the future. It was pointed out that the Council has taken this

into consideration at all of its recent meetings.

The meeting was turned over to the incoming President, O. J. Curry, North Texas State College.

A motion was made to adjourn. It was seconded and passed unanimously.

Leon C. Megginson
Secretary-Treasurer

Minutes of the Executive Council, Southwestern Social Science Association, Saturday, March 31, 1956

The meeting was called to order by President Curry at 9:10 A.M. in the Plaza Hotel, San Antonio, Texas.

Those present were: O. J. Curry, John W. White, Leon C. Megginson, H. J. Meenen, Frederic Meyers, H. J. Friedsam, Joe E. Brown, Tom Rose, James A. Tinsley, Walter T. Watson, John H. Vann (for F. B. Kniffen), P. F. Boyer, J. William Davis, Sam Leifeste, Carl M. Rosenquist, Fred W. Norwood, and Lloyd M. Wells (for John Claunche).

It was moved by Leifeste and seconded by Rose that the minutes of the preceding meeting be accepted. Passed unanimously.

President Curry appointed Tom Rose as General Program Chairman for the coming year. It was moved by White and seconded by Davis that Leon C. Megginson be elected Secretary-Treasurer for another year. Passed unanimously.

President Curry led a discussion of the editorship of the *Quarterly* for the coming year but no action was taken, pending the outcome of the efforts to get some school to assume the subsidy. At this time further discussion of the possibility of two other schools assum-

ing the subsidy was made but no action was taken. It was moved by White and seconded by Davis that the President poll the Executive Council on the Editor of the *Quarterly* when it was known what disposition had been made of the subsidy. Passed unanimously.

Carl M. Rosenquist, chairman of the special committee appointed by President White, made a report to the Council as follows: "Be it recommended that the By-laws to the Constitution, Section III, be amended to read: 'For sustaining members—educational institutions—\$10, \$25, \$50; noneducational institutions — a n y amount over \$5.' " It was moved by Boyer and seconded by Meyers that the change be accepted. Passed unanimously. Rosenquist also reported for the same committee its recommendation that the By-laws be amended so that individual and library membership dues be increased from \$4 to \$5 and that student dues be increased from \$2 to \$2.50, effective March 1, 1957. It was moved by Meyers and seconded by Meenen that this be accepted. Carried unanimously.

President Curry restated that the

1957 convention would be held during April 19-20 at Hotel Adolphus in Dallas. A discussion of sites for the 1958 convention followed. The following places were mentioned: Mineral Wells, Dallas, Houston, Galveston, and New Orleans. White moved and Davis seconded that the Council reaffirm its policy of meeting in the Dallas-Fort Worth area for two years, and one year around the periphery. This was carried unanimously.

It was moved by Boyer and seconded by Leifeste that the President be empowered to negotiate with the Dallas hotels for the 1958 meeting. It was suggested that the President submit recommendations to the Council for its approval. Motion carried unanimously.

President Curry appointed Walter T. Watson, Second Vice-President, to be the Membership Committee chairman for the coming year.

The Secretary-Treasurer led a discussion concerning the difficulty of handling tickets for the luncheons during registration. It was moved by Davis and seconded by Meenen that the General Program Chairman, in co-operation with the Secretary-Treasurer and the Local Arrangements Committee, be responsible for the arrangements for the banquet and that the tickets to this be sold during the registration procedure. The section chairmen would be responsible for negotiating with the hotel, arranging for and

selling tickets, and paying the hotel for the section luncheons. This money will not be cleared through the Secretary-Treasurer. Passed unanimously.

I. E. McNeill brought a petition from the Accounting Section, asking that it be permitted to have a joint session with the American Accounting Association but maintain its membership and affiliation with the Southwestern Social Science Association. The program would carry the notation that the Accounting Section meetings were joint meetings with the Southwestern section of the American Accounting Association. Tom Rose polled the Accounting Section and it was unanimously in favor. It was moved by Boyer and seconded by White that this request be granted. Passed unanimously.

Sam Leifeste led a discussion on "guests" attending the convention. In the discussion it was brought out that many members of the faculties in the area of the Association who are eligible for membership are attending the convention as guests, thus reaping the benefits of membership without paying the price of membership. It was suggested that at the next convention, a different-colored badge be provided for guests.

A motion was made to adjourn, was seconded, and passed unanimously.

Leon C. Megginson
Secretary-Treasurer

Secretary-Treasurer's Report, Southwestern Social Science Association, Comparative Statement of Cash Receipts and Disbursements for the Years Ending February 29, 1956, March 15, 1955, and March 15, 1954

<i>Cash receipts from:</i>	1956	1955	1954
Individual memberships	\$2,111.00	\$1,629.00	\$1,959.00
Library memberships	785.00	731.00	760.00
Institutional memberships	135.00	95.00
Sale of back issues of <i>Quarterly</i>	133.62	71.50	33.00
Display space at convention	630.00	150.00	375.00
Advertising in <i>Quarterly</i>	365.17	226.67	42.50
Advertising in annual program,	160.00	100.00	50.00
Receipts from banquet and luncheon	509.30	376.20	264.00
Sale of reprints	127.00	34.50	11.70
Miscellaneous	7.00	24.96
Total cash receipts	<u>\$4,963.09</u>	<u>\$3,438.83</u>	<u>\$3,495.20</u>
<i>Cash disbursements for:</i>			
<i>Quarterly expenses:</i>			
Printing			
March issue	\$ 819.40	\$	\$ 745.00
June issue	928.55	\$ 807.85	770.57
September issue	233.78	942.86	753.88
December issue	757.80	82.70	859.49
Editor's petty cash and other expenses	157.97	102.11	51.00
Wrappers	44.20	14.85	48.00
Net <i>Quarterly</i> expenses	<u>\$2,941.70</u>	<u>\$1,950.37</u>	<u>\$2,977.94</u>
Plus University of Texas subsidy*	3,850.00		
Total <i>Quarterly</i> cost	<u>\$6,791.70</u>		
<i>Convention expenses:</i>			
Printing programs	\$ 182.38	\$ 116.62	\$ 200.26
Expense of general program	66.00	66.25	39.20
Banquet and luncheon	509.45	366.30	295.65
Registration expense	12.34	50.45
Total	<u>\$ 770.17</u>	<u>\$ 599.62</u>	<u>\$ 535.11</u>
* Applied toward printing cost of the September, 1955, issue			
Applied toward one-half the cost of a technical editor (University of Texas Press)			
Applied toward a replacement teaching assistant for the <i>Quarterly</i> editor			
Miscellaneous expense			
Total			<u>\$ 725.00</u>
			2,400.00
			700.00
			25.00
			<u>\$3,850.00</u>

Expenses of Secretary-Treasurer:

Postage expense	\$ 60.00	\$ 55.00	\$ 79.84
Stationery and office supplies . . .	3.05	7.35	117.95
Clerical expenses	203.16	325.08
Miscellaneous	4.00	15.72	4.00
Total	<u>\$ 67.05</u>	<u>\$ 281.23</u>	<u>\$ 526.87</u>

Other expenses:

Print application forms	\$ 22.87
Print membership roster	30.86
Miscellaneous	8.80
Total	<u>\$ 62.53</u>

Total cash disbursed	<u>\$3,841.45</u>	<u>\$2,929.43</u>	<u>\$4,039.92</u>
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Excess of disbursements or

<i>receipts</i>	1,121.64	509.40	(-544.72)
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Add cash balance at beginning

<i>of year</i>	1,629.83	1,120.43	1,665.15
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<i>Cash balance at end of year†</i>	\$2,751.41	\$1,629.83	\$1,120.43
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† Louisiana National Bank
Editor's petty cash fund
Total

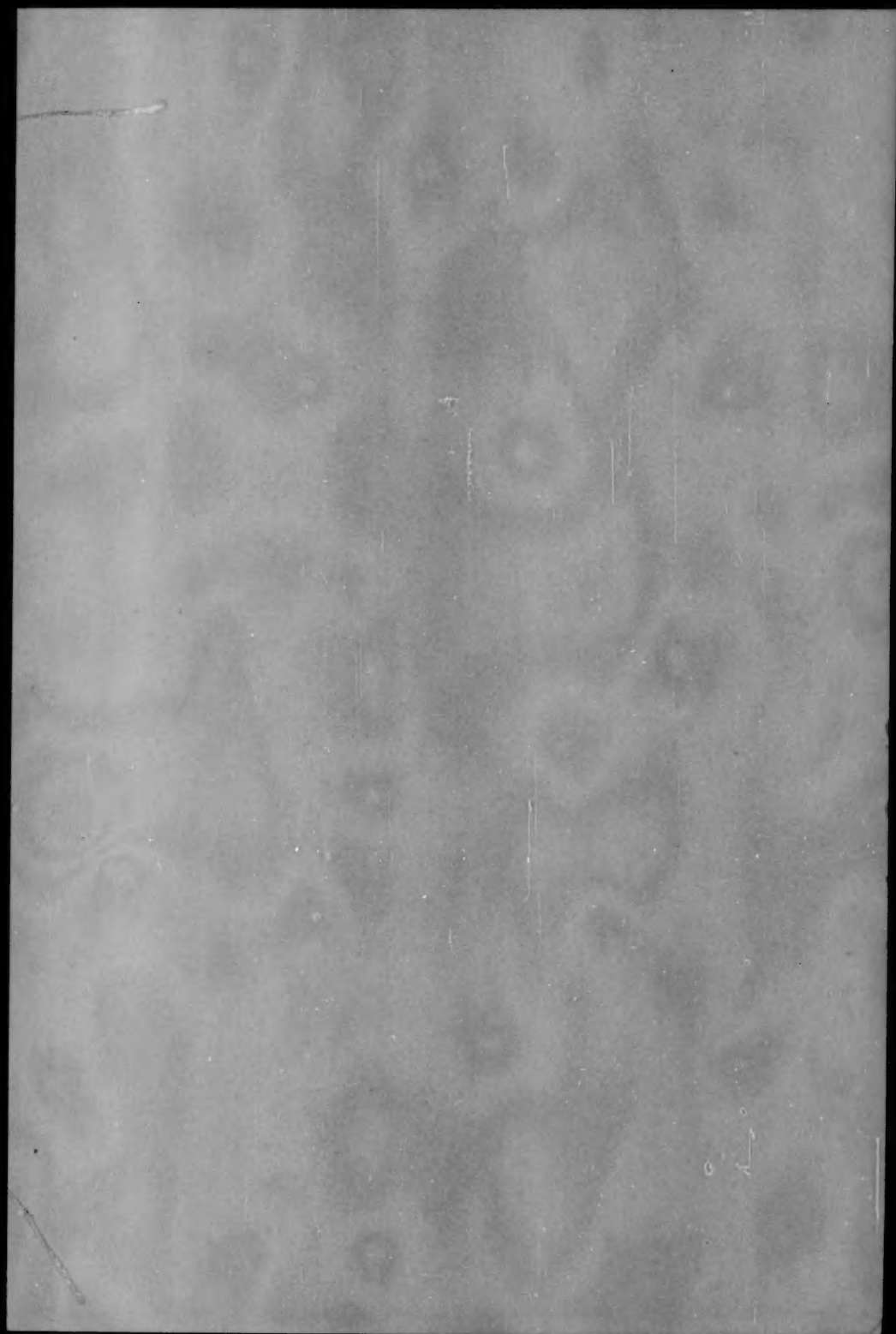
\$2,726.47
25.00
\$2,751.47

Comparative Membership Data

	1956	1955	1954
Individual members	643	554	530
Library members	189	189	167
Institutional members	13	13
Life members	13	13	13
Student members	3	3	2

The following institutions have recently contributed to the financial support of the Southwestern Social Science Association. Their names are being published in accordance with the By-Laws of the Association and in recognition of their support.

Hardin-Simmons University
Oklahoma Baptist University
Oklahoma City University
Southern Methodist University
Texas Western University
University of New Mexico
University of Oklahoma
University of Texas
University of Wichita



New Books and Revisions

ECONOMICS OF MONEY AND BANKING

By **GEORGE N. HALM**, Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University

Emphasis in this new text is on the economic aspects of money and banking. There are four main parts: (1) monetary theory, (2) monetary policy, (3) the problems of investment and employment, and (4) international payments. The many historical, institutional, and descriptive chapters serve primarily to illustrate the theoretical aspects of the subject. Difficult matters are explained clearly and completely so that the text is easy for students to follow and understand.

592 pages

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FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS Revised Edition

By **ERWIN W. BOEHLER** (Editor), **ROLAND I. ROBINSON**, **FRANK H. GANE**, and **LORING C. FARWELL**

This popular text, widely adopted in its first edition, has now been revised and brought completely up to date. Transitions and altered trends in national policy are discussed, reviewed, and critically considered. All statistical data in the text, charts, and tables have been brought up to date and new charts have been added. The structure and organization of the original edition have been retained so that its unique institutional approach to finance remains the same.

688 pages

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THE AMERICAN ECONOMY Revised Edition **PRINCIPLES, PRACTICES, AND POLICIES**

By **C. LOWELL HARRISS**, Columbia University

This popular and widely used text for courses in principles of economics has been thoroughly revised and brought completely up to date, so that it now serves the needs of the introductory course even better than before. The text material has been made more compact and concise—reducing the physical size of the book to less than 800 pages of actual text—without narrowing its scope or damaging its essential readability. A complete Teacher's Manual is available to adopters.

825 pages

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ECONOMIC POLICY Revised Edition **READINGS IN POLITICAL ECONOMY**

By **WILLIAM D. GRAMPP**, University of Illinois (Chicago) and **EMANUEL T. WEILER**, Purdue University

This new Revised Edition retains the most popular and provocative of the readings in the original edition and has been improved by the addition of many new selections as well as an entirely new section on policy in a planned economy, with special reference to British Socialism and Russian Communism. The section on International Economic Policy has been revised to include readings on economic progress in underdeveloped countries and on international measures to control cyclical fluctuations.

440 pages

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